

THE GENESIS OF SOUTH CAROLINA
1562-1670

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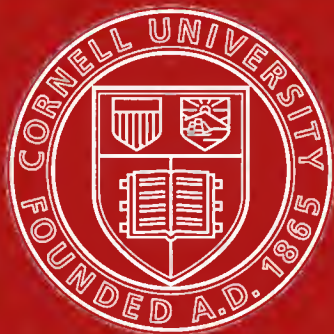
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Portrait of Columbus, purchased by Spain in 1763 from Senor N. Yanez,
of Granada, and preserved in the National Library at Madrid.

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 x m y
 : Xpo FERENS. /

New York, May 17, 1905.

Hon. William A. Courtenay, LL. D.,
Newry, South Carolina.

Dear Sir:

In answer to your note of the 9th inst. I enclose herewith a memorandum statement, about the Yanez portrait of Columbus, which I trust you will find satisfactory. This memorandum was prepared by Mr. H. M. Lydenberg, of this Library [New York Public].

In 1763 the Spanish Government bought from Senor N. Yanez of Granada, four portraits painted on poplar wood and said to be contemporary and original likenesses of the four subjects, Columbus, Lope de Vega, Cortez and Quevedo; the portraits were beautiful, but somewhat dilapidated, all apparently by the same hand. In this connection, it will be recalled at once that when Columbus died Cortez was but a boy, and that Lope and Quevedo were not born until 50 years after. The portraits were placed in the National Library of Madrid where they remain to this day.

The portrait of Columbus resembled the Jovian engraving, a type to which may be referred many of his alleged likenesses. This Jovian portrait appeared first as a wood cut, in Jovius's *Elogia Virorum Bellica Virtute Illustrium*, the folio edition, printed at Basel in 1575. The Yanez portrait at this time had the same inscription, namely, "Cristof Columbus Nori Orbis Inuentor", but the figure was distinguished from that in the Jovian type by the flowing robe with a heavy fur collar.

In 1847 Valentino Carderea made a careful examination of it and described it as follows:

"The picture is two feet high, painted on poplar-wood board (*Chopo*), a wood which was never used by the Spanish artists of that time, though it was much employed by the Italians. It is the same size as the Jovian picture, and has the same epigraph; the painter, besides, was a mannerist, and wielded a weak brush. The fur robe, close-fitting and crossed in front, differs widely from that in all known pictures; but a scrupulous examination has convinced me that it is recent and the work of a modern restorer. It looks like an alteration made a few years ago by inexpert hands." (Apud Ponce de Leon's "Columbus Gallery", New York, 1893, page 9.)

Some thirty years later, about 1875, Carderea proposed that the portrait be restored to its original condition, and this restoration was done by Salvador Martinez Cubells, by which process the present very satisfactory portrait was brought out. It was discovered that the Legend read, *Columbus Lygvr Novi Orbis Reptor*.

Experts believe that the original painting belongs not to the Spanish School, but—because of its style and coloring—to the Florentine, the Altissimo, and may have been painted by one of the disciples of the Bronzino, undoubtedly in Italy in the sixteenth century.

It is certainly one of the oldest known, and by the material, form, features, dress and other conditions, offers great proof of genuineness.

The authorities for the above statements are Ponce de Leon's "Columbus Gallery", and the *Lives of Columbus*, by John Boyd Thatcher, Justin Winsor, and others.

I believe a copy of the portrait we now have was made some years ago for General Fairchild, and by him given to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Trusting that this statement may be satisfactory, I remain,

Very respectfully,

J. S. Billings
Director.

J C Humphreys Esq

With the Regard of

The author

The Genesis

//

OF

South Carolina

1562-1670 /

Edited, with an Introduction by

HON. WM. A. COURTENAY LL. D.

"Westward the course of empire takes its way;
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day;
Time's noblest offspring is the last."

2 PRIVATELY PRINTED BY
THE STATE COMPANY,
Columbia, S. C.
3 1907.

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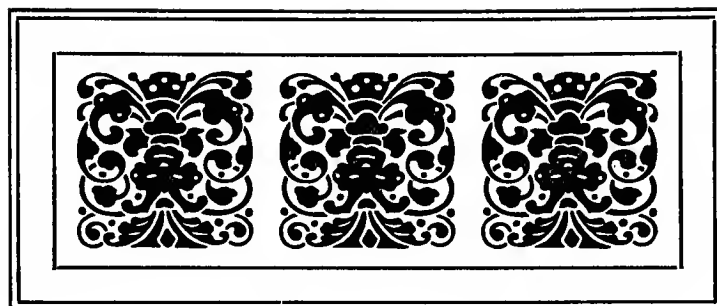
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INTRODUCTION

“There shall come a time in later ages, when ocean shall relax his chains and a vast continent appear, and a pilot shall find new worlds and Thule shall be no more earth’s bounds.”



The art of navigation is as old as civilization, and the practice of it must have begun when bartering commenced. Its early development in European waters was in the eastern part of the Mediterranean, with open boats, such as Homer mentioned. Vessels of this character could not make a commercial nation like that which thrived in Phœnicia. Therefore we find that her ships were large and that they used both sails and oars. More than three thousand years ago the sailors of this little state had passed out of the Mediterranean, had founded Cadiz, and were trafficking along the Atlantic shores of Europe and Africa.

The maritime spirit of the Phœnicians descended upon the Carthagenians, the Italians, and the Portuguese. The last named began that golden age of geographical discovery which characterized the fifteenth century.

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Columbus was an efficient seaman and also a religious enthusiast—a rare combination. In his correspondence with Toscanelli, in 1474, is the first mention of his decision to seek the Indies by sailing west. Three years afterward he visited the northern regions, Iceland probably, where he must have found the tradition of western discoveries, although the secret of the Sagas was not published until the last half of the sixteenth century. Whatever he learned there had no influence upon his previous resolution. He did not propose to hunt after the lands which the Norsemen had discarded. His purpose was to open a way, by water, to the rich and populous countries spoken of by Marco Polo, for this was linked in his mind with the propagation of the Christian faith and the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre from the Infidels.

In his first log across the Atlantic, he likened the weather to that of Andalusia in April. It lacked nothing, he said, except the songs of the nightingales. Such it has been, where he crossed, for æons of time. On this route the vessels of the Crusaders might have gone to America in the twelfth century with less peril than they went from England to Joppa then.

The unfolding of physical laws has dissipated the artificial terrors of the ocean; but in the time of Columbus superstition and ignorance brooded there, making it truly a "sea of darkness," which the imagination only had pierced.

The world is not indebted to the wisdom of the learned for the eventful voyage that opened the oceans to commerce, and continents to trade and settlement. To Columbus belongs this inestimable boon. He inspired the wise and good Queen Isabella equally with the humble sailors of Palos to put their trust in his scheme. He was as persistent in maintaining it through the rebuffs

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of eighteen years as he was steadfast in holding to his predetermined course across the Atlantic.

The landfall of Columbus on the 12th of October, 1492, is universally recognized as the grandest event in secular history. It opened the door to influences, infinite in extent and beneficence: measure them, describe them, picture them you cannot.

The first land seen was one of the Bahama Islands, far east of the peninsula of Florida, and on the same day as the discovery, he made his formal landing, which is thus described in Las Casas' narrative, made from Columbus' log of the first voyage:

The Admiral took the Royal standard and the captains with two banners of the Green Cross, which the Admiral carried on all the ships as a distinguishing flag having an F and a Y; each letter surmounted by its crown, one at one arm of the cross, and the other at the other arm. As soon as they had landed they saw trees of a brilliant green, abundance of water, and fruits of various kinds. The Admiral called the two captains and the rest who had come on shore, and Rodrigo Descovedo, the Notary of all the fleet, and Rodrigo Sanchez de Segovia, and he called them as witnesses to certify that he in presence of them all, was taking, as he in fact took possession of said island for the King and Queen his masters, making the declarations that were required as they will be found more fully in the attestations then taken down in writing. Soon after a large crowd of natives congregated there. What follows are the Admiral's own words in his book on the first voyage and discovery of these Indies:

"In order to win the friendship and affection of that people, and because I was convinced that their conversion to our Holy Faith would be better promoted through love, than through force; I presented some of them with red caps and some strings of glass beads which they placed around their necks, and with other trifles of insignificant worth that delighted them and by which we have got a wonderful hold on their affections. They afterwards came to the boats of the vessels swimming, bringing us parrots, cotton thread in

balls and cloth, spears, and many other things which they bartered for others we gave them, as glass beads and little bells. Finally they received every thing and gave whatever they had with good will." * * * * * "Their hair is as coarse as the hair of a horse's tail and cut short; they wear their hair over their eye brows except a little behind which they wear long, and which they never cut; some of them paint themselves black, and they are of the color of the Canary islanders, neither black nor white, and some paint themselves white, and some red, and some with whatever they find, and some paint their faces, and some the whole body, and some their eyes only, and some their noses only. They do not carry arms and have no knowledge of them, for when I showed them the swords they took them by the edge, and through ignorance, cut themselves. They have no iron; their spears consist of staffs without iron, some of them having a fish's tooth at the end, and others, other things. As a body they are of good size, good demeanor, and well formed; I saw some with scars on their bodies, and to my signs asking them what these meant, they answered in the same manner, that people from neighboring islands wanted to capture them, and they had defended themselves."

In this exchange of gifts, we find "balls of cotton yarn and cotton cloth" among the articles. The cotton plant has been indigenous, in all inter-tropical regions, from the earliest times. It was also recognized by the discoverer, the raw material and the product being present on the island. But whence came the knowledge of spinning and weaving? Since first reading of this incident, many years ago, that landfall has been impressed upon my thoughts for that incident, and I have lingered over it many times as a mysterious physical fact, to be only traced from pre-historic times, in the far eastern quarter of the world, down to this island in the western quarter of the Atlantic Ocean. Centuries before the Christian Era we know of cotton cloths. Mention of them is made more than once in the Old Testament. In the book of Esther, i:6, we find this

record, 486 years B. C. : "Where were white, green, and blue hangings," used for decoration on a festive occasion at the king's palace. This textile-art was in great perfection in India, at so early a date as five hundred years before the Christian Era; thence, it passed to Assyria and Egypt; yet it was not until the thirteenth century that the plant was cultivated in Southern Europe. The manufacture of it into cloth, in imitation of the fabrics of India and Egypt, was first attempted in Italy in that century, from whence it passed into the low countries and into Western Europe. The fact remains, however, that it did not cross the Atlantic Ocean to the Bahamas; its presence on this continent must be otherwise sought for.

Mr. Weise, in his interesting volume,* has these two paragraphs for his opening chapter, which may point the way to a solution of this problem of the aborigines, discovered on one of the most eastern islands in the western section of the Atlantic Ocean, and having the knowledge of making yarn and cotton cloth :

The oldest scriptures, sacred and profane, attest the antiquity of the red race. As early as the antediluvian period this division of the human family had taken possession of the islands and continent of the western hemisphere, where it founded an empire, the most famous and formidable of primeval times. Great in political power, its commercial, agricultural, and other economical interests were commensurably vast and unparalleled. The skill of its architects and engineers was exhibited in large and imposing edifices and in extraordinary and extensive public works. Aggressively belligerent, its armies overran parts of Asia and Africa, exacting tribute, deposing and substituting rulers.

When the Spaniards, in the sixteenth century, began to explore the interior of the continent of America for gold, silver, and precious stones, they found populated provinces,

*The Discoveries of America to the Year 1525. By Arthur James Weise, M. A. (Putnam, 1884.)

great cities, temples, palaces, aqueducts, canals, bridges, and causeways. The astonished adventurers also discovered the vestiges of an aboriginal people, among which were many massive tablets of stone covered with columns of strange hieroglyphics and antique images, picturing a past civilization for the rise and growth of which modern archæologists have not yet satisfactorily determined dates.

In the twelfth volume of *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1881) we have an intensely interesting narrative in "Heckewelder's History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations". I would call especial attention to the tradition among the aborigines, of implicitly believing, that they had many hundreds of years before, come from the north-west of the continent to the eastward, crossing great rivers on their long journey.

Apparently in confirmation of Mr. Weise's opinion, we have a History of Ancient America, Anterior to the Time of Columbus, by Rev. George Jones, M. R. S.; F. S. V.—a very curious publication, in which he calls attention to the wonderful architectural ruins in Mexico and Yucatan as existing physical facts, which have been written of by Stephens in his interesting work, published in two volumes in the first half of the last century. In this well-known publication, reference is made to the colossal ruins, still standing, at Copan, Palanque, in Mexico and at Uxmal, Yucatan, where they can be seen today. Here is a descriptive narrative of the size of the ruins at Uxmal:

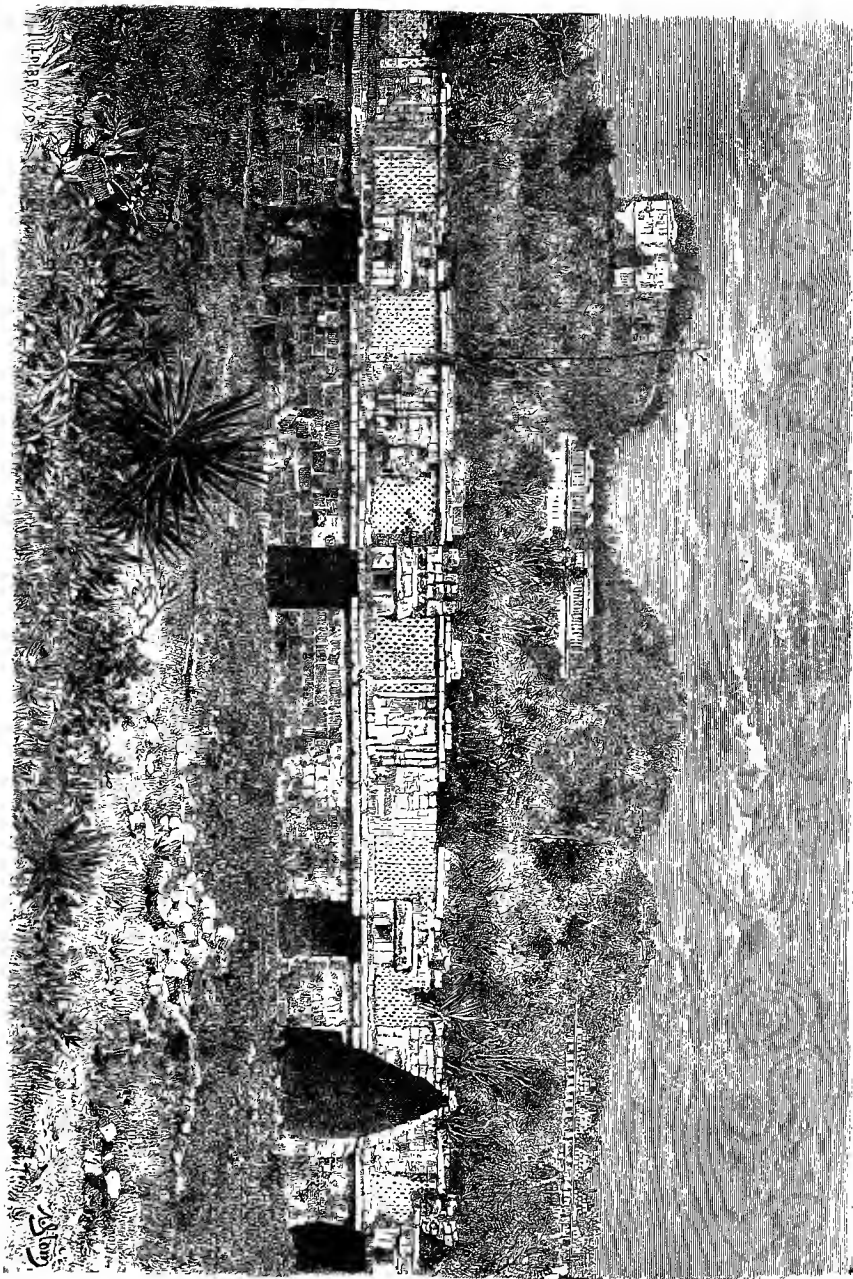
DIMENSIONS OF THE TEMPLE OF UXMAL, YUCATAN.

The site covering nine acres of land.

First Terrace: 640 feet long on each of the four sides, 5 feet high, steps in center on the several sides.

First Platform: 20 feet broad.

Second Terrace: 600 feet on each of the sides, 15 feet high, steps also in centre.



RUINS OF UXMAL, YUCATAN.

From "Les Antiques Villes du Nouveau Monde."

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Second Platform: 205 feet to base of third terrace.

Third Terrace: 400 feet at base; 35 steps, six inches tread; entire depth 110 feet.

Third Platform: 30 feet, to the front of the temple; all of the terraces are cased with cut stone.

Facade of Temple: 320 feet; walls to first cornice 25 feet high.

Three Doorways, centre, 8 feet 6 inches wide, 8 feet 10 inches high; two lateral doorways the same height as the centre, and 6 feet 6 inches wide.

Colonnade, or Second Platform, composed of 230 circular columns, each 12 feet high, and 18 inches in diameter; in two rows; the columns 10 feet apart.

The Single Altar-Column: 6 feet in diameter, and 60 feet high, in centre of area.

Base of First Terrace: 2,560 feet.

Sculptured Walls of the Temple: 40,960 superficial feet.

The Three Artificial Terraces contain 72,800 cubit feet.

Certainly a highly cultivated people must have designed and built this immense structure. Rev. Mr. Jones sees in these ruins the architecture of Egypt and the Nile, while Mr. Stephens writes that "they are different from the works of any other known people,—of a new order, and entirely and absolutely anomalous, they stand alone." I present herewith an accurate picture of the ruins at Uxmal as recently seen.

This lengthy digression, in a rather wide field of conjecture and speculation, has only now brought forth another people who knew how to spin and weave. When the Spaniards invaded and conquered Mexico, they revealed a government and people who had occupied that country for long years, dynasty after dynasty. Prescott says on one occasion as they (Cortes' army) approached an Aztec city, they saw abundant signs of cultivation, in the trim gardens and orchards, that lined both sides of the road. They were met by parties of the natives of either sex, the women, as well as men,

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bearing bunches and wreaths of flowers, with which they decorated the neck of the General's charger, and hung a chaplet of roses about his helmet; flowers were the delight of these people. Many of the women appeared, from their richer dress and numerous attendants, to be persons of rank. They were clad in robes of fine cotton, curiously colored, which reached from the neck to the ankles, the men wore a sort of mantle of the same rich material, "a la Morisca," in the Moorish fashion, over their shoulders, and belts and sashes about their loins. Both sexes had jewels and ornaments of gold around their necks, while their ears and nostrils were perforated with rings of the same metal.

Montezuma sent to the king and queen of Spain generous gifts of these fine cottons, and mantles of featherwork, the delicate and rich-colored dyes of which might readily vie with the most beautiful paintings. When opened and exhibited at the court of Spain, nothing like such curious and elegant fabrics had ever before been seen in Europe, and were looked on with wonder and admiration; of course, all made by hand, and briefly described in the poet's apt lines:

"Whose texture e'en the search of gods deceives;
Fine as the filmy web the spider weaves."

In the beginning, the question was asked, where did the red man at the landfall learn how to spin and weave; at the end the inquiry is renewed, and there is no intelligent reply. It can only be conjectured that the far eastern art has been orally communicated from generation to generation, and so has circled the globe.

Amid all the continuous disappointments, running through nearly two decades, there was daily preserved in the marvellous life of Columbus two prominent thoughts:

First, the fixed belief in the existence of lands and populations to the westward.

Second, the steady aim and purpose to spread Christianity among these, to be, newly-discovered peoples.

The landfall of Columbus on the 12th of October, 1492, realized in a wide degree his first aspiration of lands and population. But the religion in which he had been born and reared was unknown among these newly-found peoples.

Nearly fifteen centuries after Christ, and His, then newly established, Church, these recently-found peoples had as yet not heard.

The stately and imposing temples in which these peoples assembled for worship were utilized for other religious forms and ceremonies.



Columbia, S. C., 1907.

NARRATIVE
OF
Ribault's Whole and True Discovery of
Terra Florida,
As far North as 36 Degrees, and the Founding
of the First Settlement of French
Protestants in America,
1562.

My Lord Admiral of Chastillon, a noble man more desirous of the public than of his private benefit, understanding the pleasure of the King his prince, which was to discover new and strange countries, caused vessels fit for this purpose to be made ready with all diligence, and men to be levied meet for such an enterprise. Among whom he chose Captain John Ribault, a man in truth expert in sea causes; which having received his charge, set himself to sea the year 1562, the eighteenth of February, accompanied only with two of the king's ships, but so well furnished with gentlemen (of whose number I myself was one) and with old soldiers, that he had means to achieve some notable thing and worthy of eternal memory. Having therefore sailed two months, never holding the usual course of the Spaniards, he arrived in Florida, landing near a cape or promontory, which is no high land, because the coast is all flat, but only rising by reason of the high woods, which at his arrival he called Cape Francois in honor of our France.

"J'OUBLIERAI BIEN VOLONTIERS TOUTES CHOSES QUI NE TOUCHERONT QUE MON PARTICULIER, SOIT D'INJURES OU D'OUTRAGES, POURVU QU'EN CE QUI TOUCHE LA GLOIRE DE DIEU ET LE REPOS DU PUBLIC, IL Y PUISSE AVOIR SURETÉ."



GASPARD DE COLIGNY.

MEMORIAL ERECTED IN THE WALL OF THE CHURCH. L'ORATOIRE. PARIS.

This cape is distant from the equator about thirty degrees. Coasting from this place towards the north, he discovered a very fair and great river, which gave him occasion to cast anchor that he might search the same the next day very early in the morning; which being done by the break of day, accompanied with Captain Fiquinville and divers other soldiers of his ship, he was no sooner arrived on the brink of the shore, but straight he perceived many Indians, men and women, who came of purpose to that place to receive the Frenchmen with all gentleness and amity, as they well declared by the oration which their king made, and the presents of chamois skins wherewith he honored our captain, which the day following caused a pillar of hard stone to be planted within the said river, and not far from the mouth of the same upon a little sandy cape, on which pillar the arms of France were carved and engraved. This being done he embarked himself again, to the end always to discover the coast toward the north which was his chief desire. After he had sailed a certain time he crossed over to the other side of the river, and then in the presence of certain Indians, which of purpose did attend him, he commanded his men to make their prayers, to give thanks to God, for that of His grace he had conducted the French nation into these strange places without any danger at all. The prayers being ended, the Indians, which were very attentive to hearken unto them, thinking, in my judgment, that we worshipped the sun, because we always had our eyes lifted up toward heaven, rose all up and came to salute the Captain John Ribault, promising to show him their king, which rose not up as they did, but remained still sitting upon green leaves of bay and palm trees; toward whom the captain went and sat down by him, and heard him make a long discourse, but with no great pleasure, because he could not understand his language, and much less his mean-

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ing. The king gave our captain at his departure a plume or fan of heron feathers, dyed in red, and a basket made of palm boughs after the Indian fashion, and wrought very artificially, and a great skin painted and drawn throughout with the pictures of divers wild beasts so lovely drawn and portrayed that nothing lacked but life. The captain to show himself not unthankful, gave him pretty tin bracelets, a cutting hook, a looking glass, and certain knives; whereupon the king showed himself to be very glad and fully contented. Having spent the most part of the day with these Indians, the captain embarked himself to pass over to the other side of the river, of which the king seemed to be very sorry. Nevertheless not being able to stay us, he commanded that with all diligence they should take fish for us; which they did with all speed. For being entered into their wares or inclosures made of reeds and framed in the fashion of a labyrinth or masse, they loaded us with trouts, great mullets, plaice, turbutts, and marvelous stores of other sorts of fish altogether different from ours.

This done, we entered into our boats and went toward the other shore. But before we came to the shore, we were saluted with a number of other Indians, which, entering into the water to their armpits, brought us many little baskets full of maize, and goodly mulberries, both red and white. Others offered themselves to bear us on shore, where being landed we perceived their king sitting upon a place dressed with boughs, and under a little arbor of cedars and bay trees somewhat distant from the water side. He was accompanied with two of his sons who were exceedingly fair and strong, and with a troop of Indians who had all their bows and arrows in marvelous good order. His two sons received our captain very graciously; but the king, their father, representing I wot not what kind of gravity, did nothing but

shake his head a little. Then the captain went forward to salute him, and without any other moving of himself he retained so constant a kind of gravity, that he made it seem unto us that by good and lawful right he bore the title of a king. Our captain knowing not what to judge of this man's behavior, thought he was jealous because we went first unto the other king, or else that he was not well pleased with the pillar or column which he had planted. While thus he knew not what hereof to think, our captain showed him by signs, that he had come from a far country to seek him, to let him understand the amity which he was desirous to have with him; for the better confirmation whereof, he drew out of a budget certain trifles, as certain bracelets covered as it were with silver and gilt, which he presented him with all, and gave his sons certain other trifles. Whereupon the king began very lovingly to entreat our captain and us. And after these gentle entertainments we went ourselves into the woods, hoping here to discover some singularities; where were great stores of mulberry trees, white and red, on the tops whereof there were infinite numbers of silk worms. Following our way we discovered a fair and great meadow, divided notwithstanding with divers marshes which constrained us by reason of the water which environed it about, to return back again toward the river side. Finding not the king there, who had by this time gone home to his house, we entered into our boats and sailed toward our ships; where, after we arrived, we called this river the river of May, because we discovered it the first day of the said month.

Soon after we returned to our ships, we weighed our anchors and hoisted our sails to discover the coast farther forward, along which we discovered another fair river, which the captain himself was minded to search out, and having searched it out with the king and the

inhabitants thereof, he named it Seine, because it is very like the river of Seine in France. From this river we retired toward our ships, where, after arriving, we trimmed our sails to sail further toward the north, and to descry the singularities of the coast. But we had not sailed any great way before we discovered another very fair river, which caused us to cast anchor over against it, and to trim out two boats to go to search it out. We found there an isle and a king no less affable than the rest; afterwards we named this river Somme. From thence we sailed about six leagues, after we discovered another river, which, after we had viewed, was named by us by the name of Loyre. And consequently we there discovered five others; whereof the first was named Charente, the second Garonne, the third Gironde, the fourth Belle, the fifth Grande; which being very well discovered with such things as were in them, by this time in less than the space of three score leagues we had found out many singularities along nine rivers. Nevertheless not fully satisfied we sailed yet further toward the north, following the course that might bring us to the river of Jordan, one of the fairest rivers of the north, and holding our wanted course, great fogs and tempests came upon us, which constrained us to leave the coast to bear toward the main sea, which was the cause that we lost sight of our Pinnesses a whole day and a night until the next day in the morning, which time, the weather waxing fair and the sea being calm, we discovered a river which we called Belle à voir. After we had sailed three or four leagues, we began to espy our Pinnesses, which came straight toward us, and at their arrival they reported to the captain that while the fogs and wild weather endured they harbored themselves in a mighty river, which in bigness and beauty exceeded the former; wherewithall the captain was exceedingly joyful, for his chief desire was to find out a haven to

harbor his ships, and there to refresh ourselves for a while. Thus making thitherward we arrived athwart the said river, (which because of the fairness and largeness thereof we named Port Royal) we stroke our sails and cast anchor at ten fathoms of water; for the depth is such, namely when the sea beginneth to flow, that the greatest ships of France, yea, the Arguzes of Venice may enter in there. Having cast anchor, the captain with his soldiers went on shore, and he himself went first on land; where we found the place as pleasant as was possible, for it was all covered over with mighty high oaks and infinite store of cedars, and with Lentiskes growing underneath them, smelling so sweetly, that the very fragrant odor only made the place to seem exceedingly pleasant. As we passed through these woods we saw nothing but turkeycocks flying in the forests, partridges, gray and red, little different from ours, but chiefly in bigness. We heard also within the woods the voices of stags, bears, lusernes, leopards, and divers other sorts of beasts, unknown to us. Being delighted with this place, we set ourselves to fishing with nets, and we caught such a number of fish, that it was wonderful. And among others, we took a certain kind of fish which we called salicoques, which were no less than creuses, so that two draughts of the net was sufficient to feed all the companies of our two ships for a whole day. The river at the mouth thereof from cape to cape is no less than three French leagues broad; it is divided into two great arms whereof the one runneth towards the west, the other towards the north. And I believe in my judgment that the arm that stretches toward the north runneth up into the country as far as the river Jordan, the other arm runneth into the sea, as it was known and understood by those of our company, which were left behind to dwell in this place. These two arms are two great leagues broad; and in the middle of them is an

isle, which pointed towards the opening of the great river, in which island there are infinite numbers of all sorts of strange beasts. There are Simples growing there of so rare properties, and in such great quantities, that it is an excellent thing to behold them. On every side there is nothing to be seen but palm trees, and other sorts of trees bearing blossoms and fruit of very rare shape and very good smell. But seeing the evening approach, and that the captain determined to return unto the ships, we prayed him to suffer us to pass the night in this place. In our absence the pilots and chief mariners advised the captain that it was needful to bring the ships further up within the river, to avoid the dangers of the winds which might annoy us, by reason of our being so near to the mouth of the river; and for this cause the captain sent for us. Being come to our ships, we sailed three leagues up within the river, and there we cast anchor. A little while after, John Ribault accompanied with a good number of soldiers embarked himself, desirous to sail further up into the arm that runneth toward the west, and to search the commodities of the place. Having sailed twelve leagues at the least, we perceived a troop of Indians who, as soon as they espied the Pinnesses, they were so afraid that they fled into the woods leaving behind them a young lucerne which they were turning upon a spit; for which the place was called Cape Lucerne. Proceeding forth on our way, we found another arm of the river, which ran toward the east, up which the captain determined to sail and to leave the great current. A little while after they began to espy divers other Indians both men and women half hidden within the woods; who knowing not that we were such as desired their friendship, were dismayed at the first, but soon after were emboldened, for the captain caused store of merchandise to be showed to them openly whereby they knew that we meant noth-

ing but well unto them; and then they made a sign that he should come on land, which we would not refuse. At our coming on shore divers of them came to salute our general according to their barbarous fashion. Some of them gave him skins of chamois, others little baskets made of palm leaves, some presented him with pearls, but no great number. Afterwards they went about to make an arbor to defend us in that place from the parching heat of the sun. But we would not stay as then. Wherefore the captain thanked them much for their good will, and gave presents to each of them; wherewith he pleased them so well before he went thence, that his sudden departure was nothing pleasant unto them. For knowing him to be so liberal, they would have wished him to have stayed a little longer, seeking by all means to give him occasion to stay, showing him by signs that he should stay but that day only, and that they desired to advertise a great Indian Lord who had pearls in great abundance, and silver also, all of which things should be given unto him at the king's arrival; saying further that in the meantime while that this great Lord came thither, they would lead him to their houses, and show him there a thousand pleasures in shooting, and seeing the stag killed therefore they prayed him not to deny them their request. Notwithstanding we returned to our ships, where, after we had been but one night, the captain in the morning commanded to put into the Pinnesses a pillar of hard stone fashioned like a column, wherein the arms of the king of France were engraven, to plant the same in the fairest place he could find. This done, we embarked ourselves, and sailed three leagues toward the west, where we discovered a little river up which we sailed so long, that in the end we found it returned into the great current, and in his return to make a little island separated from the firm land where we went on shore; and by command-

ment of the captain, because it was exceedingly fair and pleasant, there we planted the pillar upon a hillock open round about to the view, and environed with a lake half a fathom deep of very good and sweet water. In which land we saw two stags of exceeding bigness, in respect of those which we had seen before, which we might have easily killed with our harguebuzes, if the captain had not forbidden us, moved with the singular fairness and bigness of them. But before our departure we named the little river which environed this isle, the River of Liborne. Afterward we embarked ourselves to search another isle not far distant from the former; wherein, after we had gone on land, we found nothing but tall cedars, the fairest that were seen in this country. For this cause we called it the Isle of Cedars; so we returned into our Pinnesse to go toward our ships.

A few days afterward John Ribault determined to return once again toward the Indians who inhabited that arm of the river which runneth toward the west, and to carry with him good stores of soldiers. For his meaning was to take two Indians of this place to bring them into France, as the queen had commanded him. With this deliberation again we took our former course so far forth, that at the last we came to the self same place where at the first we found the Indians, from thence we took two Indians by the permission of the king, who, thinking that they were more favored than the rest, thought themselves very happy to stay with us. But these two Indians seeing we made no show at all that we would go on land, but rather that we followed the middle of the current, began to be somewhat offended, and would by force have leaped into the water, for they are so good swimmers that immediately they would have gotten into the forests. Nevertheless being acquainted with their humor, we watched them narrowly and sought by all means to appease them; which

we could not by any means do for that time, though we offered them things which they much esteemed, which things they disdained to take, and gave back again whatsoever was given them, thinking that such gifts should have altogether bound them, and that restoring them they should be restored unto their liberty. In fine, perceiving that all that they did availed them nothing, they prayed us to give them those things which they had restored, which we did incontinent; then they approached one toward the other and began to sing, agreeing so sweetly together, that in hearing their song it seemed that they lamented the absence of their friends. They continued their songs all night without ceasing; all of which time we were constrained to lie at anchor by reason of the tide that was against us, but we hoisted sail the next day very early in the morning, and returned to our ships. As soon as we were come to our ships, every one sought to gratify these two Indians, and to show them the best countenance that was possible; to the intent that by such courtesies they might perceive the good desire and affection which we had to remain their friends in time to come. Then we offered them meat to eat, but they refused it, and made us understand that they were accustomed to wash their face and to stay until the sun were set before they did eat, which is a ceremony common to all the Indians of New France. Nevertheless in the end they were constrained to forget their superstitions, and to apply themselves to our nature, which was somewhat strange to them at first. They became therefore more , every hour made us 1,000 discourses, being marvelously sorry that we could not understand them. A few days after they began to bear so good will towards me, that, as I think, they would rather have perished with hunger and thirst, than have taken their refection at any man's hand but mine. Seeing this their good will, I sought to learn some

Indian words, and began to ask them questions, showing them the thing whereof I desired to know the name, how they called it. They were very glad to tell it to me, and knowing the desire that I had to learn their language, they encouraged me afterwards to ask them every thing. So that putting down in writing the words and phrases of the Indian speech, I was able to understand the greatest part of their discourses. Every day they did nothing but speak unto me of the desire that they had to use me well, if we returned unto their houses, and cause me to receive all the pleasures that they could devise, as well in hunting as in seeing their very strange and superstitious ceremonies at a certain feast which they call Toya. Which feast they observe as straightly as we observe the Sunday. They gave me to understand that they would bring me to see the greatest Lord of this country who they called Chiquola, who exceeded them in height (as they told me) a good foot and a half. They said unto me that he dwelt within the land in a very large place and inclosed exceedingly high, but I could not learn wherewith. And as far as I can judge, this place whereof they spoke unto me, was a very fair city. For they said unto me that within the inclosure there was great store of houses which were built very high, wherein there was an infinite number of men like unto themselves, which made no account of gold, of silver, nor of pearls, seeing they had thereof in abundance. I began then to show them all the parts of heaven, to the intent to learn in which quarter they dwelt. And straightway one of them stretching out his hand showed me that they dwelt toward the north, which makes me think that it was the river of Jordan. And now I remember that in the reign of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, certain Spaniards inhabitants of S. Domingo (which made a voyage to get certain slaves to work in their mines) stole away by subtlety the inhab-

itants of this river, to the number of 40, thinking to carry them into their New Spain. But they lost their labor; for in despite they died all for hunger, saving one that was brought to the emperor, which a little while after he caused to be baptized, and gave him his own name and called him Charles of Chiquola, because he spoke so much of this Lord of Chiquola whose subject he was. Also, he reported continually, that Chiquola made his abode within a very great inclosed city. Besides this proof, those which were left in the first voyage have certified me, that the Indians showed them by evident signs, that farther within the land toward the north, there was a great inclosure or city, where Chiquola dwelt. After they had stayed a while in our ships, they began to be sorry, and still demanded of me when they should return. I made them understand that the captain's will was to send them home again, but that first he would bestow apparel of them, which few days after was delivered unto them. But seeing he would not give them license to depart, they resolved with themselves to steal away by night, and to get a little boat which he had, and by the help of the tide to sail home toward their dwellings, and by this means to save themselves. Which thing they failed not to do, and put their enterprise in execution, yet leaving behind them the apparel which the captain had given them, and carrying away nothing but that which was their own, showing well hereby that they were not void of reason. The captain cared not greatly for their departure, considering they had not been used otherwise than well; and that therefore they would not estrange themselves from the Frenchmen. Captain Ribault therefore knowing the singular fairness of this river, desired by all means to encourage some of his men to dwell there, well foreseeing that this thing might be of great importance for the king's service, and the relief of the commonwealth

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of France. Therefore proceeding on with this intent he commanded the anchors to be weighed and to set things in order to return unto the opening of the river, to the end that if the wind came fair he might pass out to accomplish the rest of his meaning. When therefore we were come to the mouth of the river, he made them cast anchor, whereupon we stayed without discovering anything all the rest of the day. The next day he commanded that all the men of his ship should come up upon the deck, saying that he had somewhat to say unto them. They all came up, and immediately the captain began to speak unto them in this manner :

I think there is none of you that are ignorant of how great consequence this our enterprise is, and how acceptable it is unto our young king. Therefore, my friends, (as one desiring your honor and benefit), I would not fail to advise you all of the exceeding good happiness which should fall to them, which, as men of value and worthy courage, would make trial in this our first discovery of the benefits and commodities of this new land; which should be, as I assure myself, the greatest occasion that ever could happen unto them, to arise unto the title and degree of honor. And for this cause I was desirous to propose unto you and set down before your eyes the eternal memory which of right they deserve, which forgetting both their parents and their country have had the courage to enterprise a thing of such importance which even kings themselves understanding to be men aspiring to so high degree magnanimity and increase of their majesties, do not disdain so well to regard, that afterwards employing them in matters of weight and of high enterprise, they make their names immortal forever. Howbeit, I would not have you persuade yourselves, as many do, that you shall never have such good fortune as not being known either to the king nor to the princes of the realm, and besides

descending of so poor a stock, that few or none of your parents, having ever made profession of arms, have been known unto the great estates. For albeit that from my tender years I myself have applied all my industry to follow them, and have hazarded my life in so many dangers for the service of my prince, yet could I never attain thereunto (not that I did not deserve this title and degree of government) as I have seen it happen to many others, only because they descend of a noble race, since more regard is had of their birth than of their virtue. For well I know if virtue were regarded there would more be found worthy to deserve the title, and by good rights be named noble and valiant. I will therefore make sufficient answer to such propositions and such things as you may object against me, laying before you the infinite examples which we have of the Romans; which concerning the point of honor were the first that triumphed over the world. For how many find we among them, which for their so valiant enterprises, not for the greatness of their parentage, have attained the honor to triumph? If we have recourse unto their ancestors, we shall find that their parents were of so mean condition, that by laboring with their hands they lived very basely. As the father of Ælius Pertinax, who was a poor artisan, his grandfather likewise was a bond man, as the historians do witness; and nevertheless, being moved with a valiant courage, he was nothing dismayed for all this, but rather desirous to aspire unto high things, he began with a brave stomach to learn feats of arms, and profited so well therein, that from step to step he became at length to be Emperor of the Romans. For all this dignity he despised not his parents; but contrawise and in remembrance of them, he caused his father's shop to be covered with a fine wrought marble, to serve for an example to men descended of base and poor lineages, to give them occasion to aspire unto high things

notwithstanding the meanness of their ancestors. I will not pass over in silence the excellency and prowess of the valiant and renowned Agathocles, the son of a simple potter, and yet forgetting the contemptible estate of his father, he so applied himself to virtue in his tender years, that by the favor of arms he came to be king of Sicily: and for all this title he refused not to be counted the son of a potter. But the more to eternize the memory of his parents and to make his name renowned, he commanded that he should be served at the table in vessels of gold and silver and others of earth: declaring thereby that the dignity wherein he was placed came not unto him by his parents, but by his own virtue only. If I shall speak of our time, I will lay before you only Rusten Bassha, which may be sufficient example to all men: which though he were the son of a poor herdsman, did so apply his youth in all virtue, that being brought up in the service of the great Turk, he seemed to aspire to great and high matters, in such sort that growing in years he increased also in courage, so far forth, that in fine for his excellent virtues he married the daughter of the great Turk his Prince. How much then ought so many worthy examples to move you to plant here? Considering also that you shall be registered forever as the first that inhabited this strange country. I pray you therefore all to advise yourselves thereof, and to declare your minds freely unto me, protesting that I will so well imprint your names in the king's ears, and the other princes, that your renown shall hereafter shine unquenchable through our realm of France.

He had scarcely ended his oration, but the greatest part of our soldiers replied: that a greater pleasure could never betide them, perceiving well the acceptable service which by this means they should do unto their Prince: besides that this thing should be for the increase of their honors: therefore they besought the Captain,

before he departed out of the place, to begin to build them a fort, which they hoped afterward to finish, and to leave them munition necessary for their defence, showing as it seemed that they were displeased, that it was so long in doing. Whereupon John Ribault, being as glad as might be to see his men so well willing, determined the next day to search the most fit and convenient place to be inhabited. Wherefore he embarked himself very early in the morning and commanded them to follow him that were desirous to inhabit there, to the intent that they might like the better of the place. Having sailed up the great river on the north side, in coasting an isle which ended with a sharp point toward the mouth of the river, having sailed a while, he discovered a small river, which entered into the island, which he would not fail to search out. Which done, and finding the same deep enough to harbor therein gallies and galliots in good number, proceeding further, he found a very open place, opening upon the brink thereof, where he went on land, and seeing the place fit to build a fortress in, and commodious for them that were willing to plant there, he resolved incontinent to cause the size of the fortification to be measured out. And considering that there stayed but six and twenty there, he caused the fort to be made in length but sixteen fathoms, and thirteen in breadth, with flanks according to the proportion thereof. The measure being taken by me and Captain Salles, we sent unto the ships for men, and to bring shovels, pickaxes and other instruments necessary to make the fortification. We travailed so diligently, that in a short space the fort was made in some sort defensible. In which mean time John Ribault caused victuals and warlike ammunition to be brought for the defence of the place. After he had furnished them with all such things as they had need of, he determined to take his

leave of them. But before his departure he used this speech unto Captain Albert, which he left in this place.

Captain Albert, I have to request you in the presence of all these men, that you would acquit yourself so wisely in your charge, and govern so modestly your small company which I leave you, which with so good cheer remaineth under your obedience, that I never have occasion but to commend you, and to recount unto the king (as I am desirous) the faithful service which before us all you undertake to do him in his new France. And you, companions, (quoth he to the soldiers), I beseech you also to esteem of Captain Albert as if he were myself that stayed here with you, yielding him that obedience which a true soldier oweth unto his general and captain, living as brothers one with another without all dissention; and in so doing God will assist you and bless your enterprises. Having ended his exhortation, we took our leave of each of them, and sailed toward our ships, calling the fort by the name of Charles Fort, and the river by the name of Chenonceau. The next day we determined to depart from this place being as well contented as was possible that we had so happily ended our business, with good hope, if occasion would permit, to discover perfectly the river of Jordan. For this cause we hoisted our sails about ten o'clock in the morning; after we were ready to depart Captain Ribault commanded to shoot off our ordinance to give a farewell unto our Frenchmen, which failed not to do the like on their part. This being done, we sailed toward the north, and then we named this river Port Royal, because of the largeness and excellent fairness of the same. After that we had sailed about fifteen leagues from thence, we espied a river, whereupon we sent our Pinesses thither to discover it. At their return they brought us word that they found not past half a fathom of water in the mouth thereof. Which, when we understood, without

doing anything else, we continued on our way, and called it the Base or Shallow river. As we still went on sounding we found not past five or six fathoms of water, although we were six good leagues from the shore. At length we found not more than three fathoms, which gave us occasion greatly to muse. And without making any further way we struck our sails, partly because we wanted water, and partly because the night approached; during which time Captain John Ribault bethought with himself whether it was best for him to pass any further, because of the eminent dangers which every hour we saw before our eyes, or whether he should content himself with that which he had certainly discovered, and also left men to inhabit the country. Being not able for that time to resolve with himself, he referred it until the next day. The morning having come, he proposed to all the company what was best to be done, to the end that with good advisement every man might deliver his opinion. Some made answers that according to their judgment he had occasion fully to content himself, considering that he could do no more; laying before his eyes, that he had discovered more in six weeks, than the Spaniards had done in two years in the conquest of their New Spain; and that he should do the king very great service, if he did bring him news in so short a time of his happy discovery. Others showed unto him the loss and spoils of his victuals, and on the other side the inconvenience that might happen by the shallow water that they found continually along the coast. Which things being well and at large debated we resolved to leave the coast forsaking the north, to take our way towards the east, which is the right way and course to our France, where we happily arrived the twentieth day of July in the year 1562.

*THE STATE AND CONDITION OF THOSE WHICH
WERE LEFT BEHIND IN CHARLES FORT.*

Our men after our departure never rested, but night and day did fortify themselves, being in good hope that after their fort was finished, they would begin to discover farther up in the river. It happened one day, as certain of them were cutting of the roots in the groves, that they espied on the sudden an Indian that hunted the deer, which finding himself so near upon them, was much dismayed, but our men began to draw near unto him, and to use him so courteously, that he became assured and followed them to Charles Fort, where every man sought to do him pleasure. Captain Albert was very joyful of his coming, which, after he had given a shirt and some other trifles, he asked him of his dwelling; the Indian answered him that it was farther up the river, and that he was a vassal of King Audusta; he also showed him with his hand the limits of his habitation. After much other talk the Indian desired leave to depart, because it drew toward night, which Captain Albert granted him very willingly. Certain days after the captain determined to sail toward Audusta, where, after arriving, by reason of the honest entertainment which he had given the Indian, he was so courteously received, that the king talked with him of nothing else but of the desire which he had to become his friend; giving him besides, to understand that he being his friend and ally, he should have the amity of four other kings, who in might and authority were able to do much for his sake. Besides all this, in his necessity they might be able to succor him with victuals. One of these kings was called Mayon, another Hoya, the third Touppa, and the fourth Stalame. He told him moreover, that they would be very glad when they should understand the news of his

coming, and therefore he prayed him to vouchsafe to visit them. The captain willingly consented unto him, for the desire that he had to purchase friends in that place. Therefore they departed the next morning very early, and first arrived at the house of King Touppa, and afterwards went into the other king's houses except the house of King Stalame. He received of each of them all the amiable courtesies that might be; they showed themselves to be as affectionate friends unto him as was possible, and offered unto him a thousand small presents. After that he remained by the space of certain days with these strange kings he determined to take his leave; and being come back to the house of Audusta, he commanded all his men to go aboard their Pinnesses; for he was minded to go toward the country of King Stalame, who dwelt toward the north a distance of fifteen great leagues from Charles Fort. Therefore as they sailed up the river they entered into a great current, which they followed so far till they came at last to the house of Stalame; which brought him into his lodging, where he sought to make them the best cheer that he could devise. He presented immediately unto Captain Albert his bow and arrows, which is a sign and confirmation of alliance between them. He presented him with chamois skins. The captain seeing that the best part of the day was now past, took his leave of King Stalame to return to Charles Fort, where he arrived the day following. By this time the friendship had grown so great between our men and King Audusta, that in a manner all things were common between him and them; in such sort that this good Indian king did nothing of importance, but he called our men thereunto. For when the time drew near for the celebrating their feasts of Toya, which are ceremonies most strange to recite, he sent ambassadors to our men to request them on his behalf to be present. Whereunto they agreed most wil-

lingly for the desire that they had to understand what this might be. They embarked themselves therefore and sailed towards the king's house, which was already come forth on the way towards them, to receive them courteously, to bid them welcome and to bring them to his house, where he sought to intreat them the best he might. In the meanwhile the Indians prepared themselves to celebrate the feast the morrow after, and the king brought them to see the place wherein the feast should be kept; where they saw many women round about, who labored by all means to make the place clean and neat. This place was a great circuit of ground with open prospect and round in figure. On the morrow therefore early in the morning, all that were chosen to celebrate the feast, being painted and trimmed with rich feathers of divers colors, put themselves on the way to go from the king's house toward the place of Toya; whereunto when they had come they set themselves in order, and followed three Indians, who in painting and gesture, were different from the rest; each of them bare a tabret in their hand, dancing and singing in lamentable tune, when they began to enter into the midst of the round circuit, being followed by others who answered them again. After they had sung, danced, and turned three times, they fell on running like unbridled horses, through the midst of the thickest woods. And then the Indian women continued all the rest of the day in tears as sad and woeful as was possible? and in such rage they cut the arms of the young girls, which they lanced so cruelly with sharp shells of muskles that the blood followed which they flung into the eye, crying out three times, He Toya. The King Audusta had gathered all our men into his house, while the feast was celebrated, and was exceedingly offended when he saw them laugh. This he did, because the Indians are very angry when they are seen in their ceremonies. Notwithstanding one

of our men made such shift that by subtle means he got out of the house of Audusta, and secretly went and hid himself behind a very thick bush, where at his pleasure, he might easily descry the ceremonies of the feast. The three that began the feast were named Iawas; and they are as it were three priests of the Indian law; to whom they give credit and belief partly because that by kindred they are ordained to be over their sacrifices, and partly also because they are such subtle magicians that anything that is lost is straightway recovered by their means. Again they are not only revered for these things, but also because they heal diseases, by, I wot not what kind of knowledge and skill they have. Those that ran so through the woods returned in two days after. After their return they began to dance with a cheerful courage in the midst of the fair place, and to cheer up their good old Indian fathers, who, either by reason of their too great age, or by reason of their natural indisposition and feebleness, were not called to the feast. When all these dances were ended, they fell to eating with such a greediness, that they seemed rather to devour their meat than to eat it, for they had neither eaten nor drank the day of the feast, nor the two days following. Our men were not forgotten at this good cheer, for the Indians sent for them all thither, showing themselves very glad of their presence. While they remained a certain time with the Indians, a man of ours got a young boy for certain trifles, and inquired of him, what the Indians did in the woods during their absence; which boy made him understand by signs, that the Iawas had made invocation to Toya, and that by magical characters they had made him come that they might speak with him and demand divers strange things of him, which, for fear of the Iawas, he durst not utter. They have also many other ceremonies, which I will not

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here rehearse for the fear of molesting the reader with a matter of so small importance.

When the feast therefore was finished our men returned unto Charles Fort; where, having remained but a while, their victuals began to wax short, which forced them to have recourse unto their neighbors, and to pray them to succor them in their necessities; who gave them part of all the victuals which they had, and kept no more unto themselves than would serve to sow their fields. They told them farther that for this cause it was needful for them to retire themselves into the woods, to live of mast and roots until the time of harvest, being as sorry as might be that they were not able any further to aid them. They gave them also counsel to go toward the country of King Couexis, a man of might and renown in this province, who made his abode toward the south abounding at all seasons and replenished with such a quantity of mill, corn and beans that by his only succor that they might be able to live a very long time. But before they should come into his territory, they were to repair unto a king called Ouade, the brother of Couexis, who in mill, corn, and beans was no less wealthy, and withal is very liberal, and who would be very joyful if he might but once see them. Our men perceiving the good relation which the Indians made them of those two kings resolved to go thither; for they felt already the necessity which oppressed them. Therefore they made request unto King Maccou that it would please him to give them one of his subjects to guide the right way thither; whereupon he condescended very willingly, knowing that without his favor they should have much ado to bring their enterprise to pass. Wherefore after they had given orders for all things necessary for the voyage, they put themselves to sea, and sailed so far that in the end they came into the country of Ouade, which they found to be in the river

Belle. Having arrived there they perceived a company of Indians, who, as soon as they knew of them being there, came before them. As soon as they came near them their guides showed them by signs that Ouade was in this company, wherefore our men set forth to salute him. Then two of his sons, who were with him, being goodly and strong men, saluted them again in very good sort, and used very friendly entertainment on their part. The king immediately began to make an oration in his Indian language of the great pleasure and contentment that he had to see them in that place, protesting that he would become so loyal a friend of theirs hereafter that he would be their faithful defender against all them that would offer to be their enemies. After these speeches he led them toward his house, where he sought to entreat them very courteously. His house was hung about with tapestry of feathers of divers colors the height of a pike. Moreover the place where the king took his rest was covered with white coverlets embroidered with devices of very witty and fine workmanship, and fringed round about with a fringe dyed in the color of scarlet. They advised the king, by one of the guides, who they brought with them, how that (having heard of his great liberality) they had put to sea to come to beseech him to succor them with victuals in their great want and necessity; and that in so doing, he should bind them all hereafter to remain his faithful friends and loyal defenders against all his enemies. This good Indian was as soon ready to do them pleasure as they were to demand it, and he commanded his subjects that they should fill our pinnesse with mill and beans. Afterward he caused them to bring him six pieces of his tapestry made like little coverlets, and gave them to our men with so liberal a mind, as they easily perceived the desire which he had to become their friend. In recompense of all these gifts our men gave him two cutting hooks and certain other

trifles, wherewith he held himself greatly satisfied. This being done, our men took their leave of the king, which for their farewell, said nothing else but that they should return if they wanted victuals, and that they might assure themselves of him, that they should never want anything that was in his power. Wherefore they embarked themselves, and sailed toward Charles Fort, which, from this place, might be some five and twenty leagues distant. But as soon as our men thought themselves at their ease, and free from the dangers whereunto they had exposed themselves night and day gathering together victuals here and there; lo, even as they were asleep, the fire caught in their lodgings with such fury, being increased by the wind, that the room that was built for them before our men's departure, was consumed in an instant, without being able to save anything, save a little of their victuals. Whereupon our men being far from all succors, found themselves in such extremity, that without the aid of Almighty God, the only searcher of the hearts of men, who never forsaketh those that seek Him in their afflictions, they had been quite and clean out of all hope. For the next day betimes in the morning the King Audusta and King Maccou came thither, accompanied with a very good company of Indians, who knowing the misfortune were very sorry for it. And then they uttered unto their subjects the speedy diligence which they were to use in building another house, showing unto them that the Frenchmen were their loving friends, and that they had made it evident unto them by the gifts and presents which they had received; protesting that whosoever put not his helping hand unto the work with his might, should be esteemed as unprofitable, and as one that had no good part in him, which the savages fear above all things. This was the occasion that every man began to endeavor himself in such sort, that in less than twelve hours, they

had begun and finished a house which was very near as great as the former. Which being ended, they returned home fully contented with a few cutting hooks, and hatchets, which they received of our men. Within a small while after this mischance, their victuals began to wax short; and after our men had taken good deliberation, thought and bethought themselves again, they found that there was no better way for them than to return again to the King Ouade and Couexis, his brother. Wherefore they resolved to send thither some of their company the next day following; which, with an Indian canoe, sailed up into the country about ten leagues; afterward they found a very fair and great river of fresh water, which they failed not to search out; they found therein great numbers of crocodiles, which, in greatness, pass those of the river Nilus; moreover all along the banks thereof, there grew mighty high cypresses. After they had stayed a small while in this place, they purposed to follow their journey, helping themselves so well with the tides, that without putting themselves in danger of the continual peril of the sea, they came into the country of Ouade; of whom they were most courteously received. They advertised him of the occasion wherefore they came again to visit him, and told him of the mischance, that happened unto them since their last voyage; how they had not only lost their household stuff by casualty of the fire, but also their victuals which he had given them so bountifully; that for this cause they were so bold as to come once again unto him, to beseech him to vouchsafe to succor them in such need and necessity.

After that the king had understood their case, he sent messengers unto his brother, Couexis, to request him upon his behalf to send him some of his mill and beans, which thing he did; and the next morning they were come again with victuals, which the king caused to be

borne into their canoe. Our men would have taken their leave of him, finding themselves more than satisfied with his liberality. But for that day he would not suffer them, but retained them, and sought to make them the best cheer he could devise. The next day very early in the morning, he took them with him to show them the place where his corn grew, and said unto them that they should not want as long as all that mill did last. Afterwards he gave them a certain number of exceeding fair pearls, and two stones of fine crystal, and certain silver ore. Our men forgot not to give him certain trifles in recompense of these presents, and required of him the place whence the silver ore and the crystal came. He made them answer, that it came ten days' journey from his habitation up within the country; and that the inhabitants of the country did dig the same at the foot of certain high mountains, where they found of it in very good quantity. Being joyful to understand so good news, and to have come to the knowledge of that which they most desired, they took their leave of the king, and returned by the same way, by which they came.

Behold therefore how our men behaved themselves very well hitherto, although they had endured many great mishaps. But misfortune or rather the last judgment of God would have it, that those which could not be overcome by fire nor water, should be undone by their own selves. This is the common fashion of men, who cannot continue in one state, and had rather to overthrow themselves, than not to attempt some new thing daily. We have infinite examples in the ancient histories, especially of the Romans, unto which number this little handful of men, being far from their country and absent from their countrymen, have also added their present example. They entered therefore into partialities and dissensions, which began about a soldier named Guernache, who was a drummer of the French bands;

who, as it was told to me, was very cruelly hung by his own captain, and for a small fault; which captain also using to threaten the rest of his soldiers who stayed behind under his obedience, and peradventure (as it is to be presumed) were not so obedient to him as they should have been, was the cause that they fell into a mutiny, because that many times he put his threatenings in execution; whereupon they so chased him, that at last they put him to death. And the principal occasion that moved them thereunto was because he degraded another soldier named La Chere (who he had banished) and because he had not performed his promise; for he had promised to send him victuals, from eight days to eight days, which thing he did not, but said on the contrary that he would be glad to hear of his death. He said, moreover, that he would chastise others also, and used to evil sounding speeches, that honesty forbids me to repeat them. The soldiers seeing his madness to increase from day to day, and fearing to fall into the dangers of the other, resolved to kill him. Having executed their purpose, they went to seek the banished, who was in a small island about three leagues distant from Charles Fort, where they found him half dead for hunger. When they came home again, they assembled themselves together to choose one to be governor over them whose name was Nicholas Barre, a man worthy of commendation, and one who knew so well to quit himself of his charge, that all rancour and dissension ceased among them, and they lived peaceably one with another. During this time, they began to build a small pinnesse, with hope to return into France, if no succors came unto them, as they expected from day to day. And though there was no man among them that had any skill, notwithstanding necessity, which is the master of all science, taught them the way to build it. After that it was finished, they thought of nothing else

saving how to furnish it with all things necessary to take their voyage. But they wanted those things that of all other were most needful, as cordage and sails, without which the enterprise could not come to effect. Having no means to recover these things, they were in worse case than at the first, and almost ready to fall into despair. But that Good God, who never forsaketh the afflicted, did succor them in their necessity.

As they were in their perplexities, King Audusta and Maccou came to them, accompanied with two hundred Indians at the least, whom our Frenchmen went forth to meet withall, and showed the king in what needs of cordage they stood; who promised them to return within two days, and to bring so much as would suffice to furnish the pinnesse with tackling. Our men being pleased with this good news and promises, bestowed upon them certain cutting hooks and shirts. After their departure our men sought all means to recover rosin in the woods, wherein they cut the pine tree round about, out of which they drew a sufficient and reasonable quantity to bray the vessel. Also they gathered a kind of moss that groweth on the tree of this country, to serve to calk the same withal. There now wanted nothing but sails, which they made of their own shirts and of their sheets. Within a few days afterward the Indian kings returned to Charles Fort with so good store of cordage, that there was found to be sufficient for tackling of the small pinnesse. Our men as glad as might be, used great liberality toward them, and at their leaving of the country, left them all the merchandise that remained, leaving them thereby so fully satisfied, that they departed from them with all the contentment in the world. They went forth therefore to finish the Brigandine, and used such speedy diligence, that within a short time afterward they made it ready furnished with all things. In the mean season the wind came so fit for their purpose that it

seemed to invite them to put to the sea ; which they did without delay, after they had set all their things in order. But before they departed they embarked their artillery, their forge, and other munitions of war which Captain Ribault had left them, and then as much mill as they could gather together. But being drunken with too excessive joy, which they had conceived for their returning into France, or rather deprived of all foresight and consideration, without regarding the inconstancy of the winds, which change in a moment, they put themselves to sea, and with so slender victuals, that the end of their enterprise became unlucky and unfortunate.

For after they had sailed the third part of their way, they were surprised with calms which did so much hinder them, that in three weeks they had sailed not more than five and twenty leagues. During this time their victuals consumed, and became so short, that every man was constrained to eat not past twelve grains of mill by the day, which may be in value as much as twelve peas. Yea, and this felicity lasted not long ; for their victuals filled them altogether at once, and they had nothing for their more assured refuge but their shoes and leather jerkins which they did eat. Touching their beverage, some of them drank the sea water, others did drink their own urine ; and they remained in such desperate necessity a very long space, during which time part of them died for hunger. Beside this extreme famine, which did so grievously oppress them, they fell every minute of the hour out of all hope ever to see France again, insomuch that they were constrained to cast the water continually out, that on all sides entered into their bark. And every day they fared worse and worse ; for after they had eaten up their shoes and leather jerkins, there arose so boisterous a wind and so contrary to their course, that in the turning of a hand, the waves filled their vessel half full of water and bruised it upon one side. Being now

more out of hope than ever to escape out of this extreme peril, they cared not for the casting out of the water which now was almost ready to drown them. And, as men resolved to die, every one fell down backward, and gave themselves over to the will of the waves. When as one of them a little having taken heart unto him declared unto them how little way they had to sail, assuring them that if the wind held, they should see land within three days. This man did so encourage them, that after they had thrown the water out of the pinnesse they remained three days without eating or drinking, except it were of the sea water. When the time of his promise was expired, they were more troubled than they were before seeing they could not descry any land. Wherefore in their extreme despair certain ones among them made this motion that it was better that one man should die, than that so many men should perish; they agreed therefore that one should die to sustain the others. Which thing was executed in the person of La Chere, of whom we have spoken heretofore, whose flesh was divided among his fellows; a thing so pitiful to recite, that my pen is loth to write it.

After so long time and tedious travels, God of His goodness, using His accustomed favor, changed their sorrow into joy, and showed unto them the sight of land. Whereof they were so exceedingly glad, that the pleasure caused them to remain a long time as men without sense; whereby they let the pinnesse float this and that way without holding any right way or course. But a small English bark boarded the vessel, in which there was a Frenchman who had been in the first voyage into Florida, who easily knew them, and spoke unto them, and afterwards gave them meat and drink. Incontinently they recovered their natural courage, and declared unto him at large all their navigation. The Englishmen consulted a long while what was best to be done,

and in fine they resolved to put on land those that were most feeble, and to carry the rest unto the Queen of England, which purposed at that time to send into Florida. Thus you see in brief that which happened to them which Captain John Ribault had left in Florida.





Later Settlements of French Protestants in America

[Charles I. of England sympathizing with the French Protestant Refugees temporarily residing there, granted a charter to Sir Robert Heath, Chief Justice of his Court of Common Pleas, of date 30th October, 1629, to what was called Carolana, and actively promoted a colony, which sailed therefor in the spring of 1630. The miscarriage of this promising voyage and the heavy penalty incurred forms an interesting historical narrative.

During the great exodus of French Huguenots, growing out of the religious troubles of the period, large numbers of them settled in England, and upon the accession of Charles I. to the throne they attracted his attention and elicited his marked interest. It is only in recent years that the charter to Carolana, given by Charles I. to "Sir Robert Heath, Knt., chief justice of our court of Common Pleas," has been fully explained. It is now known that the object of the king was to promote a colony of French Protestants to Carolana. For the particulars of this movement, we are indebted to the late W. Noel Sainsbury, one of the chief officers of the Public Record Office, Fetter Lane, London, who wrote in *The Antiquary* (a magazine devoted to the study of the past, published in London), March, 1881, the following intensely interesting paper.]

Many noble families now resident in America are proud of claiming descent from the French Protestants who went over there nearly 250 years ago. A knowledge of the history of their heroic deeds and sacrifices in defence of their lives and religion will leave us in no doubt of the reasons. Their first settlement in America took place in connection with an intended plantation of Carolina more than forty years before any actual settlement took place.

It was mainly through the exertions of one of the principal followers of Soubise, Duke de Fontenay, a great leader of the Protestant Reformed religion in France, soon after Charles I. ascended the English throne, that numbers of these families ultimately adopted America as their country.

Antoine de Ridouet, Baron de Sancé, was the name of this promoter of American colonization, and he acted in the capacity of secretary to Soubise during his sojourn in this country.

Soubise was in truth an exile. He had espoused with all the vigour of his character the cause of his fellow Protestant countrymen in France. His perseverance in endeavoring to obtain an acknowledgment of their rights had drawn upon him the wrath of his Sovereign. The King of France had accused him of acts of rebellion, and, fearing the worst consequences, Soubise had collected at Rochelle a fleet and about 1,500 men eager to espouse his cause and to fight in defence of it. The Dutch lent a willing ear to the solicitations of Soubise for aid, and gave him all the assistance they could. Ships, men, and war material were speedily furnished, and Soubise, flushed with success, was eager to give a practical proof of his sincerity and his courage.

A battle was the consequence, and the defeat of the French King's fleet the result. But the brilliant hopes of Soubise were unhappily of short duration. Louis XIII., worsted by a portion of his own subjects, determined to put forth his strength; so Rochelle was proclaimed in a state of siege, and the besiegers were soon reduced to the last extremities. In his despair Soubise applied to England; he begged King Charles to come to his assistance; he urged that himself and his followers had fought in defence of their common faith; that the very existence of the Protestant religion in France, and with it the lives of his followers, depended upon the

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issue of the struggle; and he entreated the Protestant King to assist a Protestant people. He succeeded in enlisting the sympathy of the English Court, if not entirely that of the English people, who were at this time so much occupied with their own grievances.

The Duke of Buckingham, then Lord High Admiral of England, was favourable to the cause, and through his power and influence Soubise was promised assistance. After some delay, a few English ships were made ready and under the immediate command of Buckingham sailed to the relief of Rochelle. The result, however, was disastrous in the extreme, and fatal to the ambitious hopes of the great French Protestant leader. He was in turn worsted by the French King's fleet. The English ships, indifferently manned and badly commanded, were of little or no avail, and Soubise, disappointed of his last chance of success, had no alternative but to take refuge in England with the remnant of his followers. Most of these, maintained for a time by the English Government, were soon reduced to the greatest distress. Many, it is supposed, went over to the Spaniards, others to the West Indies, and some sailed for America. Of these last we wish to speak.

De Sancé, who was a devoted follower of Soubise, and accompanied him in his flight to England, had previously been very active in protecting the interests of his Protestant countrymen fugitives. To many petitions from these distressed men to the Privy Council, De Sancé, had written certificates that the petitioners were of the Reformed religion.

Fortunately, at this juncture the Duke of Buckingham stood his friend. At Buckingham's recommendation King Charles granted De Sancé a pension of £100 a-year, his estate in France having been confiscated. But this was hardly sufficient for a man who thought not of his own wants alone. True to the principles for

which so much had been sacrificed, he used all the influence he possessed for the permanent well-being of his fellow-sufferers, so he petitioned the King for an increase of his pension to £200 a year: his former patron, the Duke of Buckingham, had by this time fallen by the knife of an assassin. He likewise prayed for letters of denization, as himself and family had resolved to live in England. This is the letter he wrote:—

Monseigneur,

Le désir que j'ay de servir Sa Majesté et me retirer en ce pais issy avec ma famille et tout ce que j'ay en France aussy pour faire habituer des franssois protestans en Virginie pour y planter des vignes, olives, faire des soyes, et du sel me fait vous suplier tres humblement d'obtenir de Sa Majesté quil luy plaise m'honorer de letres de gentilhomme de sa chambre privée. Avec letres de Denison pour moy et mon fils. Et quil luy plaise donner ordre á Monseigneur l'Ambassadeur qui ira en France d'obtenir comme ayant l'honneur d'estre son domestique, liberté et sureté pour moy avec la jouissance de mon bien afin que par ce moyen et sous la faveur de Sa Majesté je puiss issy faire transporter ma famille et mon bein pour estre plus prest á servir Sa Majesté et vous aussy monseigneur.

(To Lord Dorchester,
H. M. Secretary of State.)

SANCE.

His chief object in writing this letter was that he might be enabled to carry out the idea he had formed of inducing the French Protestant refugees to seek a permanent home on the continent of America. There he felt sure his unhappy Protestant countrymen would be free to follow their own religion in safety and in peace; there they would be able to embark in pursuits congenial to their tastes, and forget in healthful occupations the deadly struggle for religious freedom in which they had been so long engaged; and there also

they would find a permanent and a happy home for themselves, their wives and their families. His active mind was ever at work to secure the success of his scheme. Every detail connected with the intended colony was a subject to him of anxious thought, and a calculation of the greatest care. At first he seems to have wished to colonize a considerable tract of land in America, as the extent of territory he demanded was capable of settling more than 20,000 men. In a subsequent paper, however, his plans were evidently more matured; he there proposes that not more than 100 or 150 settlers should be sent over in the first year, and that labourers, artisans and skilful seamen only should go during the next two or three years.

His proposals met with favour. Articles were agreed upon between the King's Attorney-General and himself, and instructions were drawn out for settling a plantation in Carolina and for the voyage. All the details were at length completed. Every Frenchman wishing to go was to furnish a certificate from his pastor that he was of the Reformed religion; this was essential, and of the utmost importance in the eyes of De Sancé. He also drew out rules for their particular guidance, the exact number that were in the first instance to sail, a minister being at their head, and the duties each would have to perform. Even the provisions they were to carry with them were minutely written down; these were to include the apparel, arms, tools and household implements necessary for one person or for a family; all such charges for fifty men estimated at £1,000. By some means, however, probably consequent on the internal commotions then unhappily prevailing in England, the final action in this contemplated settlement was delayed, and it was not until April 20, 1630, that "Instructions by way of indenture betwixt His Majesty and Sir Robert Heath, Knt., Chief Justice of our Court of Com-

mon Pleas, to be observed in the plantation of Carolina" were signed, one article of which was "That none shall be willingly admitted or entertained into this plantation which shall not be of the Protestant religion." As all were Frenchmen, and as they could not but remember the persecution and miseries which they had undergone, they no doubt stipulated before quitting England that Roman Catholics should form no portion of their number, or they very naturally thought they would scarcely be allowed to enjoy that tranquility in the exercise of their religion which had been so distinctly promised to them. A governor was appointed for the newly intended colony, and everything was in readiness for the voyage, when, at the last stage of this historical drama, "the plantation was hindered, and the voyage frustrated." How this came about we gather from the contents of a petition presented to the Privy Council in 1634, more than four years after these events took place.

From this it appears that these unfortunate French Protestants, fated as it seemed to endure sacrifices and disappointments, were landed in Virginia, where they remained in distress until the following May with no transport to take them to Carolina. The name of the vessel which took them over was the "Mayflower." Was it the same ship that carried the Puritans to Plymouth in 1620?

The ill success of this expedition was not, however, allowed to pass unnoticed in England. The contractors for the voyage were committed to the custody of a messenger until they were able to answer the complaints against them. The judge of the Admiralty made two formal reports on the subject; and the contractors, Samuel Vassall and Peter Andrews, were ordered to pay upwards of £600 for the losses sustained by the non-fulfilment of their contract.

Thus fell to the ground, for a time at least, an intended settlement of Carolina, early in the seventeenth century, which was neither renewed nor successfully accomplished until about forty years afterwards, when John Locke, the great philosopher, at that time Private Secretary to Lord Shaftesbury, was consulted by the lords proprietors of Carolina, and framed the original or first set of the constitutions for the government of the colony. Had this first attempt succeeded, to what fruitful results might it not have led? The intended settlers were men of character, industrious and honourable, who had sacrificed their fortunes and would have sacrificed their lives for their religion. They had fought under Soubise, and were desirous to settle where they could enjoy their religious opinions undisturbed, and be employed in honest and useful occupations. The cultivation of a rich and fruitful soil, untouched, if not unseen, by any but the native Indians, the planting of the vine, nurturing the silkworm, and similar pursuits, these men were desirous to undertake. But their wishes were frustrated, not through any fault of their own, and the settlement of a fair colony in America, delayed, as we have said, for nearly half a century. It is, however, pretty certain that these French Protestants remained in Virginia, and there is evidence that twenty-eight more were sent over through De Sancé's efforts in the "Thomas" to supply the place of any who might die in the "Mayflower." Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that, though his untiring exertions to found the settlement were not successful, De Sancé was mainly instrumental in inducing these French Protestants to adopt America as their home. They were assuredly the first of the large numbers who subsequently did so. All the documents relating to this intended settlement of Caro-

lina will be found in the Colonial Series of State Papers in H. M. Public Record Office.

W. NOEL SAINSBURY.

[To correct some unimportant errors in the previous article, although not germane to Carolina, space is given to the following paper, contributed by Mr. Sainsbury to the May, 1881, issue of *The Antiquarian*, as it fixes an earlier date (1621) for the movements of French Protestants to America, who landed in Virginia, than heretofore known. The intended colonists signed what has been since designated as a "Round Robin," that is, their names are signed around a circle; a fac-simile of it, in size and details, is extant, and really makes an interesting and curious Huguenot relic, while preserving many family names of that early period.]

A paper on the first settlement of French Protestants in America in the March Number of *The Antiquary* has attracted so much attention that I purpose jotting down a few more remarks on the same subject, which will render it necessary to qualify the statement that the French Protestants who were sent out under the auspices of the Baron de Sancé were the first of the large number who subsequently adopted America as their home. For it is evident that nearly ten years before De Sancé conceived the idea of an exodus of French Protestants from England to Carolina, our ambassador at the Hague was chiefly instrumental in the departure of some sixty French and Walloon families from the United Provinces, "all of the Reformed religion," to the then infant colony of Virginia. Those who are interested in the history of these early emigrations of French

Protestants to America, will remember an attempt, about the middle of the sixteenth century, by Admiral Coligny, to found a colony of Huguenots in Florida, and that John Ribault, in 1562, was sent in command of two ships to take them over there.

The first intimation received by King James I. of the desire of certain French and Walloon families to go to Virginia was by letter, from Sir Dudley Carleton to Secretary Sir George Calvert, dated from the Hague, 19th July, 1621, in these words: "Here hath been with me of late a certain Walloon, an inhabitant of Leyden, in the name of divers families, men of all trades and occupations, who desire to go into Virginia, and there to live in the same condition as others of His Majesty's subjects, but in a town or incorporation by themselves; which being a matter of some consideration, I required of him his demands in writing, with the signature of such as were to bear part therein; both which I send your Honor herewith; and howsoever the demands are extravagant in some points, yet if His Majesty like of their going thither, they may be made more capable of the nature of the plantation; to which purpose they will send one (upon the first word they shall have from me of His Majesty's pleasure) expressly to treat with our Company in England."

With this despatch the English ambassador sent two inclosures, the first of which is addressed to "the Lord Ambassador of the most serene King of Great Britain," and has been endorsed by Sir Dudley Carleton, "Supplication of certain Walloons and French who are desirous to go into Virginia." The original of this is in French, and is signed by Jesse de Forest. It may be abstracted as follows:

"That His Maj. will permit fifty or sixty families, as well Walloons as French, all of the reformed religion, to settle in Virginia, and protect them and maintain

them in their religion. As said families would consist of nearly 300, they wish to take a quantity of cattle as well for husbandry as for their support, and ask His Majesty to accommodate them with one ship, supplied with cannon and other arms. That they may select a spot fit for their settlement, from the places not yet cultivated, erect a town for their security, with fortifications, and elect a Governor and Magistrates. That His Majesty furnish them with cannon and ammunition, and grant them, in case of necessity, the right to make powder, bullets, etc. That His Maj. grant them a territory of eight English miles all round—*i. e.*, sixteen miles in diameter—to be held from His Maj. with reservation of inferior Seignorial rights, privilege of exclusive hunting and fishing, etc. That my Lord Ambassador would expedite said privileges in due form as soon as possible, that they may be ready by March next, the convenient season.”

A translation of this “Supplication” is printed in *Documents relating to the History of New York*, vol. iii, pp. 9-10. But Carleton’s second inclosure, “The Promise of certain Walloons and French to emigrate to Virginia,” has never yet been printed that I am aware of, and it is by far the most interesting of the two. This also is in French, and in the form of a Round Robin, the signature and calling of the head of each family being appended, the person signing stating in an outer circle whether he is married, and the number of his children, some having only signed their marks. The grand total is 227, of whom 55 are men, 41 women, 129 children, and 2 servants.

In the centre of the large sheet of paper upon which all these signatures appear is written, in French:—“We promise my Lord Ambassador of the Most Serene King of Great Britain to go and inhabit in Virginia, a land under His Majesty’s obedience, as soon as conveniently

may be, and this under the conditions to be carried out in the articles we have communicated to the said Ambassador, and not otherwise, in the faith of which we have unanimously signed this present with our sign manuals."

Within a month the Secretary of State replied to the English Ambassador that he had moved the king concerning the overture made for planting in Virginia, and this His Majesty was pleased to refer the proposition to the Council of Virginia, whose answer he inclosed, with leave, if Carleton thought fit, to show it to the French and Walloons, "and as they like the Answer they may resolve to proceed or desist."

The Virginia Company, in their answer, said they did not conceive any inconvenience, provided the number did not exceed 300, and that they took the oath of allegiances to the King, and conformed to the rules of government established in the Church of England. Land would be granted to them in convenient numbers in the principal cities, boroughs, and corporations in Virginia.

In a record of the proceedings of the Virginia Company will be found a letter to the Governor of Virginia, telling him that the Company had considered the propositions of certain French and Walloons to inhabit in Virginia, and "have returned to them so fine answer as we consider they will resolve to go;" that there will be sixty families, consisting of about 300 persons, and that he may expect them coming about next spring.

In another letter, dated 11th of Sept. 1621, the Virginia Company advise the Governor that the "Dutie" will take over "store of silke worme seed and abundance of vine plants;" and they request that "a straight charge be given for the preserving of vines and mulberry trees," adding that "because the skill of handling them is only derived from the Frenchmen, we cannot but here recom-

mend this to your favour and regard, that they may be kindly used and cherished.”

An article in the *Saturday Review* of the 5th of March last contains some interesting remarks upon French Protestant settlers in America, but the writer has fallen into some confusion with dates. Charles II. granted two patents for Carolina, one in 1663, the other in 1665, but there was no patent granted in 1670. In that year, however, the settlement of Port Royal (Charleston) was effected, the Articles of Agreement between the Lords Proprietors of Carolina to pay £500 each for that purpose being dated in 1669, the year before.

W. NOEL SAINSBURY.



Preface to the Fifth Volume of Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society

At the Restoration the Barbadoes planters, become straightened for land, hearing report of a wide country in the main, with broad rivers and fat soil, sent ships to "discover" it. Sir John Colleton, a Barbadoes planter, and Sir A. Ashley Cooper, meeting at court and in the West India committee, the new country of Carolina was suggested to Sir Anthony, who, with the great officers about the King, Monck, Clarendon, &c., obtained a grant of it. A few people had already settled at Chowan, and New England traders sent some further on to Cape Fear, but these returned "without so much as ever sitting down upon it." Hilton had been at Charles River, sent by the Barbadoes adventurers who proposed to plant there. Claims then arose under Sir Robert Heath's dormant patent, but were summarily suppressed by its revocation.

Upon the New Englanders' failure, the annulling of Heath's patent and the grant to those powerful noblemen, the "Cape Fear adventurers" applied to them, and under their "declarations," sent out a colony which landed at Charles river 29 May, 1664.

Meanwhile the "Port Royal adventurers" sent Hilton on a new discovery, and upon his good report, with the Proprietors' "concessions" and aid, and under Sir John Yeamans, left Barbadoes in October, 1665, and reached Charles river in November. But losing a ship and all their arms and stores, and being "for Port Royal and now by the calamity that fell on Sir John Yeamans disappointed," they returned to Barbadoes in January,

1666. In June Sandford sailed on his Port Royal discovery, and in the fall the colony broke up and Cape Fear became a memory, to cloud the reputation of Yeamans and deter the Barbadoes planters from further adventure.

But Carolina grew in Lord Ashley's brain, Locke framed a constitution for the dominion beyond the seas, and the Proprietors fitted a fleet and colony to possess it. The ships left the Downs late in August, 1669, touched at Kinsale, Ireland, and made Barbadoes (after a stormy voyage) late in October. The Albemarle was lost there, Colleton's sloop substituted, and the three ships sailed about November 30, touched December 10 at Nevis, and were soon after scattered by fearful hurricanes. The Port Royal, beating about for weeks, was lost on the Bahamas, the sloop was driven to Virginia, and the Carolina "with difficulty attained Bermuda" January 12. There Yeamans, substituted Sayle as governor, and returned to Barbadoes.

The Carolina's company left Bermuda February 26, "came up with the land" at Sewee March 16, and sailed on to Port Royal, but, deterred by its breakers and situation "in the very chaps of the Spaniard," and drawn to Kiawah by the blandishments of the casique, they left Port Royal and came to Kiawah early in April, 1670. There at "Old Town" they settled, and were joined May 23 by the sloop, and in March, 1670-1, by some Barbadoes planters and their servants. The Indians, already used to white men, "and knowing guns and many Spanish words," were friendly and helpful, but, poor and timid, prey of the inland slave raiders, had scant supplies to give. The colony was good, and led by gentlemen able, but unused to planting, and success was doubtful until (Cape Fear being forgotten) the Barbadoes planters brought their experience and their negroes to assure it, and plant Carolina as Carolinians

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later planted Mississippi. This, our early government and laws, our parish names and system, many of our "first families," and now these papers, attest. Thus Carolina, drawn from Lord Ashley's system, lords and "leetman settled in towns," became a planting province under the concessions.

The story is told in the Shaftesbury Papers, deposited by the late Earl of Shaftesbury in the Public Record Office. Those papers include many relating to Carolina, and showing the deep interest of the first Earl of Shaftesbury and his secretary, Locke, in his "Darlings" settlement and prosperity. These Carolina papers were procured (through the late W. Noel Sainsbury, Esq.) for the Centennial celebration of the city of Charleston, and were afterwards presented by the Hon. Wm. A. Courtenay, mayor of Charleston, and the City Council to the South Carolina Historical Society; the State and city contributing funds to aid the Society in the publication. To make this record more complete, other papers have been included or referred to.

A
RELATION
OF

A Discovery lately made on the Coast of

FLORIDA,

(From Lat. 31. to 33 Deg. 45 Min. North-Lat.)

By *William Hilton* Commander, and
Commissioner with Capt. *Anthony Long*, and
Peter Fabian, in the Ship *Adventure*, which set Sayle
from *Spikes Bay*, Aug. 10. 1663. and was set
forth by several Gentlemen and Merchants
of the Island of *BARBADOES*.

Giving an account of the nature and temperature of the
Soyl, the manners and disposition of the Natives, and whatsoever
else is remarkable therein.

Together with

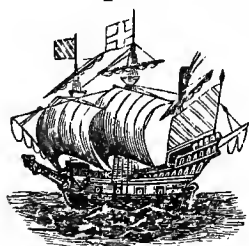
Proposals made by the Commissioners of
the Lords Proprietors, to all such persons as shall
become the first Setlers on the Rivers, Harbors,
and Creeks there.

Originally printed by *J. C.* for *Simon Miller* at the Star neer the
West-end of St. *Pauls*, *London*, 1664.



A true Relation of a Voyage, upon discovery of part of the Coast of FLORIDA, (now *Carolina*,) from the Lat. of 31 Deg. to 33 Deg. 45 m. North Lat. in the Ship *Adventure*, *William Hilton* Commander, and Commissioner with Captain *Anthony Long* and *Peter Fabian*; set forth by several Gentlemen and Merchants of the Island of *Barbadoes*; sailed from *Spikes Bay*, *Aug. 10 1663*.

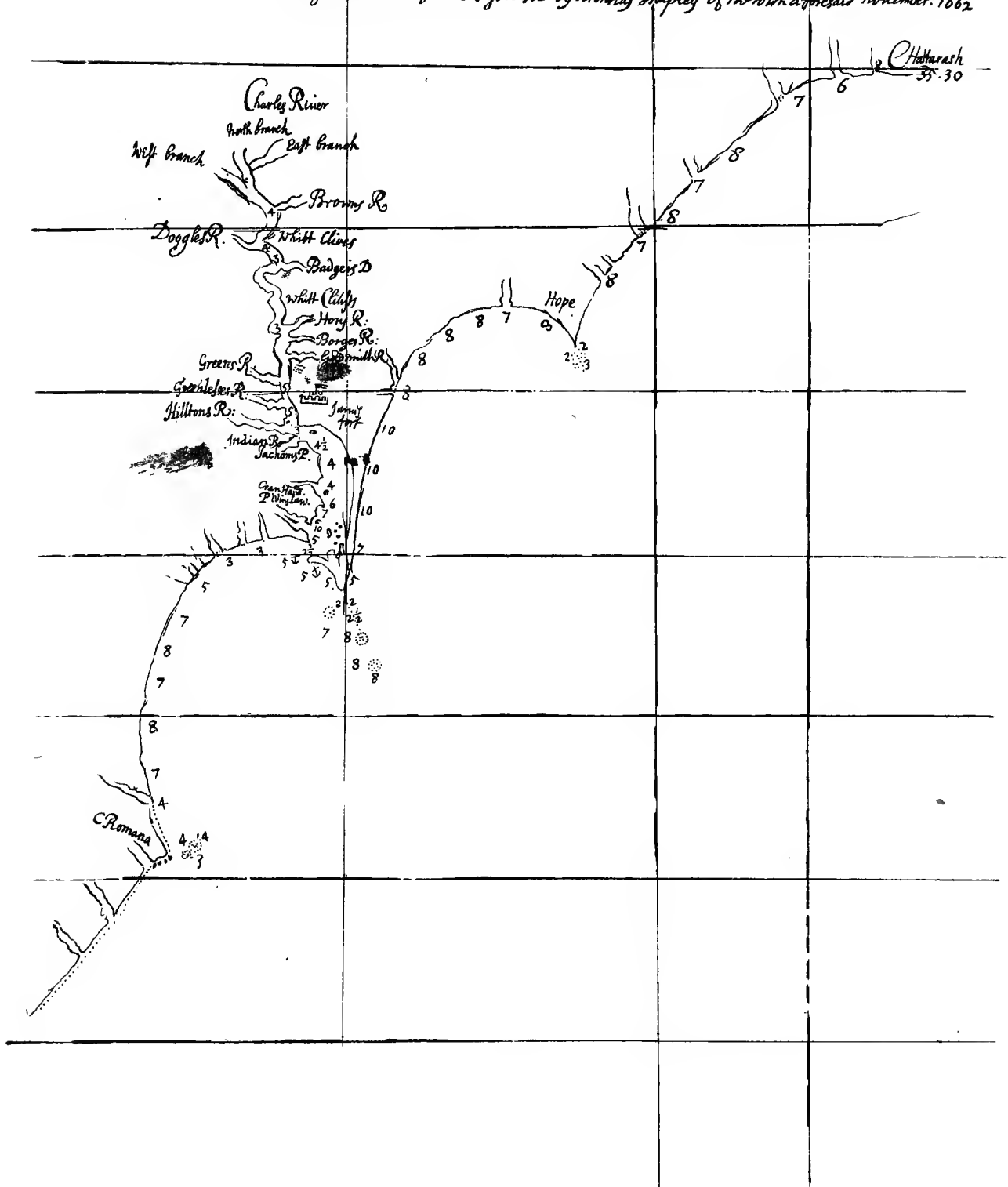
After Sixteen days of fair weather, and prosperous winds, *Wednesday* the 26 instant, four of the clock in the Afternoon, God be thanked, we espied Land on the Coast of *Florida*, in the lat. of 32 deg. 30. min. being four Leagues or thereabouts to the Northwards of *St. Ellens*, having run five hundred and fifty Leagues; and to the Westward of the Meridian of *Barbadoes*, three hundred thirty and one Leagues. This Evening and Night following we lay off and on: *Thursday* the 27th instant, in the morning, we stood in with the Land, and coasted the



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Shoar to the Southward, Ankering at Nights, and fending our Boat out a Mornings, till we came into the lat. of 31 deg. but found no good harbour that way. On *Sunday* the 30th instant, we tacked, and stood Northward: and on *Wednesday* the second of *September*, we came to an Anchor in five fathoms at the mouth of a very large opening of three Leagues wide, or thereabouts, in the lat. of 32 deg. 30 min. and sent our Boat to found the Channel. On *Thursday* the third, we entered the Harbour, and found that it was the River *Jordan*, and was but four Leagues or thereabouts N. E. from *Port Royal*, which by the *Spaniards* is called St. *Ellens*: within Land, both Rivers meet in one. We spent some time to found the Channels both without and within, and to search the Rivers in several branches, and to view the Land. On *Saturday* the fifth of *September*, two *Indians* came on Board us from the N. E. shoar, whom we entertained courteously, and afterwards set them on shoar. On *Sunday* the sixth, several *Indians* came on Board us, and said they were of St. *Ellens*; being very bold and familiar; speaking many *Spanish* words, as *Capptian*, *Commrado*, and *Adeus*. They know the use of Guns, and are as little startled at the firing of a Piece of Ordnance, as he that hath been used to them many years: they told us the nearest *Spaniards* were at St. *Augustins*, and several of them had been

Discovery made by William Hilton of Charles Towne in New-England Narrator
 from Cape Hatterath Lat: 35:30'. 50 $\frac{1}{2}$ west of Cape Roman in Lat: 32.30 In y^r year 1662
 And layd Down in the forme as you see by Nicholas Shapley of the town aforesaid November: 1662



[Brit. Mus. Add. M.S. 5415.G.4.]

J A Burt, Lith.

REPRODUCED FROM THE ORIGINAL MAP FOR HON. WM. A. COURTENAY, CHARLESTON, S. C.

there, which as they said was but ten days journey; and that the *Spanyards* used to come to them at Saint *Ellens*, sometimes in Conoa's within Land, at other times in small Veffels by Sea, which the *Indians* describe to have but two Mafts. They invited us to come to St. *Ellens* with our Ship, which they told us we might do within Land. *Monday* the 14 *September*, our Long-Boat went with twelve hands within Land to St. *Ellens*. On *Wednesday* the 16th, came five *Indians* on board us; one of them pointing to another, said, he was the Grandy Captain of *Edistow*: whereupon we took especial notice of him, and entertained him accordingly, giving him several Beads, & other trade that pleased him well: He invited us to bring up our Ship into a branch on the N. E. side, and told us of one Captain *Francisco*, and four more English that were in his custody on shoar; whereupon we shewed him store of all Trade, as Beads, Hoes, Hatchets and Bills, &c. and said, he should have all those things if he would bring the English on board us; w^{ch} he promised should be done the next day. Hereupon we wrote a few lines to the said *English*, fearing it to be a *Spanish* delusion to entrap us. In the dark of the same Evening came a Conoa with nine or ten *Indians* in her with their Bowes and Arrowes, and were close on board before we did discern them: We haled them, but they made us no answer, which

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increased our jealousy: So we commanded them on board, and disarmed them, detaining two of them prisoners, and sending away the rest to fetch the *English*; which if they brought, they should have theirs again. At length they delivered us a Note written with a coal, which seemed the more to continue our jealousy, because in all this time we had no news of our long-boat from St. *Ellens*, which we feared was surprised by the *Indians* and *Spanyards*. But to satisfy us that there were *English* on hoar, they sent us one man on board about twelve of the clock in the Night who related to us the truth of the matter, and told us they were cast away some four or five leagues to the Northward of the place we then rode, on the 24th of *July* past, being thirteen persons that came on hoar, whereof three of them were kill'd by the *Indians*. On *Thursday* the 17th of *September* the Long-boat returned from St. *Ellens*, which presently we sent on hoar to fetch the other *English*, the *Indians* delivering us three more; and coming aboard themselves, we delivered them their two men. Then we demanded of the chief Commander where the rest of our *English* were: he answered, Five were carried to St. *Ellens*, three were killed by the *Stonohs*, and the other man we should have within two dayes. We replied to him again, That we would keep him and two more of his chief men, till we had our *English* that

were yet living; and promised them their liberty, with satisfaction for bringing us the *English*. Now to return to the business of our Design; the entertainment we had at S. *Ellens* put us in great fear of the *Indians* treachery; for we observed their continual gathering together, and at last began with stern-look'd countenances to speak roughly to us, and came to search our mens Bandoleers and pockets; yet inviting us to stay that night with them: but we made a sudden retreat to our Boat, which caused the *Indian* King to be in a great rage, speaking loud and angry to his men; the drift of which discourse we understood not. That which we noted there, was a fair house builded in the shape of a Dove-house, round, two hundred foot at least, completely covered with *Palmeto*-leaves, the wall plate being twelve foot high, or thereabouts, & within lodging Rooms and forms; two pillars at the entrance of a high Seat above all the rest: Also another house like a Sentinel-house, floored ten foot high with planks, fastned with Spikes and Nails, standing upon substantial Posts, with several other small houses round about. Also we saw many planks, to the quantity of three thousand foot or thereabouts, with other Timber squared, and a Cross before the great house. Likewise we saw the Ruines of an old Fort, compassing more than half an acre of land within the Trenches, which we supposed to be *Charly's*

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Fort, built, and so called by the *French* in 1562, &c. On *Monday, September 21.* one English youth was brought from *St. Ellens* aboard us by an *Indian*, who informed us that there were four more of their company at *St. Ellens*, but he could not tell whether the *Indians* would let them come to us: For faith he, Our Men told me, that they had lately seen a Frier and two *Spaniards* more at *St. Ellens*, who told them they would send Soldiers suddenly to fetch them away. This day we layd up the River with our Ship to go through to *St. Ellens*. On *Tuesday* the 22 instant, three *Indians* came on board; one of them we sent with a Letter to the *English* Prisoners there. On *Wednesday* the 23d, we sent out Boat and Men to sound the Chancel, and finde out the most likely way to *St. Ellens* with our Ship by *Com-beheh*. In the mean time came many Canoa's about us with Corn, Pumpions, and Venison, Deer-skins, and a sort of sweet-wood. One of our men looking into an *Indian* basket, found a piece of *Spanish* Rusk: it being new, we demanded of the *Indian* where he had it; who said, of the *Spaniards*. In the interim, while we were talking, came a Canoa with four *Indians* from *St. Ellens*, on standing up, and holding a paper in a cleft stick; they told us they had brought it from the *Spanish* Captain at *St. Ellens*. We demanded how many *Spaniards* were come thither; who said, Seven, and one *English-man*: We received

their Letter writ in *Spanish*, but none of us could read it: We detained two of the chiefeft *Indians*, one of them being the Kings Son of S. *Ellens*, and that kept one of the *English* prifoners; the other two we fent away with a Letter to the *Spaniard*, wherein we gave him to underftand, that we underftood not his letter; and told the *Indians*, when they brought the *English*, they fhould have their men again, with fatisfaction for their pains. On *Thursday*, 24 instant, we fayling further up the River to go through, at laft came to a place of frefh water, and Anchored there, fending our Boat afhoar with a Guard to get water. Towards night came the firft *Indian* that we fent to St. *Ellens* with a letter to the *English*, who brought us another letter from the *Spaniards*, and an Anfwer of ours from the *English*, writ in the *Spaniards* letter. The *Spaniard* fent us a quarter of Venifon, and a quarter of Pork, with a Complement, That he was forry he had no more for us at that time. We returned him thanks, and fent him a Jug of Brandy; and withal, that we were forry we underftood not his letter. This night about twelve of the Clock we had a moft violent guft of winde, but of no long continuance. On *Friday* 25 *September*, we weighed, and returned down the River fix leagues, or thereabouts, becaufe we perceived the *Indians* had gathered themfelves in a Body from all parts thereabouts, and moved as the

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Ship did: and being informed by an *Indian* that the *Spaniards* would be there the next day; we took in Fire-wood, and continued there that night, at which time one of our *Indian* Prisoners made his escape by leaping over-board in the dark. On *Saturday* the 26. we weighed, and stood down to the Harbours mouth, and stayed there till *Monday* the 28. In all which time came no one to us, though we stay'd in expectation of their coming continually; therefore put out to Sea, concluding their intentions not to be good. Being out of the River *Jordan*, we directed our course S. W. four leagues or thereabouts for *Port-Royal*, to found the Chanel without from the poynts of the Harbour outwards; for we had founded the Harbour within from the points inward when our Boat was at St. *Elens*: And now being athwart the Harbours mouth, we sent our Boat with the Mate and others, who found the N. E. and E. N. E. side of the opening of *Port-Royal* to be Sholes and Breakers to the middle of the opening; and three leagues or thereabouts into the Sea, from the side aforesaid, is unsafe to meddle with: but the S. W. and W. side we found all bold steering in N. N. W. two or three miles from the S. W. shoar, sayling directly with the S. W. head-land of the entrance of *Port-Royal*: the said head-land is bluft, and seems steep, as though the trees hung over the water: But you must note, that

To the Coast of Florida. 11

if you keep so far from the S.W. side, that you stand in N. N. W. with the bluff head aforesaid, you shall go over the Outskirt of the E. N. E. holding, and shall have but three or four fathom for the space of one league or thereabouts, and then you shall have six and seven fathoms all the way in: But if you borrow more on the S.W. side, till you have brought the S. W. head of the Entry to bear N. N. E. you shall have a fair large Chanel of six, seven, and eight fathoms all the way in, and then five, six, seven and eight fathoms within the Harbour, keeping the Chanel, and standing over to the Northward: we supposed that it flows here as at the River *Jordan*, because they are but four leagues asunder, and flows S. E. and N.W. seven foot and half, and sometimes eight foot perpendicular: the Mouth of *Port-Royal* lies in 32 deg. 20 min. lat. Now as concerning the entrance of the River *Jordan*, lat. 32 deg. 30. min. or thereabouts, you shall see a range of Breakers right against the opening, two or three leagues off the S.W. Point; which you must leave to the Northward, and steer in with the said S. W. Point, giving a range of Breakers that runs from the said Point a small birth, and you shall have two, three, and four fathoms at low water; and when you come one mile from the Point aforesaid, steer over directly to the N. E. Point, and you shall have six or seven fathom all the way. Within the N. W. Point is good Anchor-

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ing: you shall have five fathoms fair aboard the shoar: and you shall have five, six, seven, and eight fathoms, sayling all along upon the River, ten leagues, and a large turning Chanel: It flows here *S. E.* and *N. W.* seven foot and a half, and eight foot at common Tydes. The River *Grandy*, or as the *Indians* call it *Edistow*, lyes six leagues or thereabouts from the River *Jordan*, and seems to be a very fair opening: but because the chief *Indian* of that Place was on board us, and the Countrey all in Arms, we not knowing how the winde might croffe us, it was not thought fit to stay there: But some of those *English* that had lived there, being Prisoners, say, that it is a very fair and goodly River, branching into several branches, and deep, and is fresh water at low Tide within two leagues of the Mouth; it seeming to us as we passed by, a good entrance large and wide, lat. 32 deg. 40 min. in or thereabouts. Now our understanding of the Land of *Port-Royal*, River *Jordan*, River *Grandie*, or *Edistow*, is as followeth: The Lands are laden with large tall Oaks, Walnut and Bayes, except facing on the Sea, it is most Pines tall and good: The Land generally, except where the Pines grow, is a good Soyl, covered with black Mold, in some places a foot, in some places half a foot, and in other places leffe, with Clay underneath mixed with Sand; and we think may produce any thing as well as most part of the Indies that we have seen.

The *Indians* plant in the worst Land, because they cannot cut down the Timber in the best, and yet have plenty of Corn, Pumpions, Water-Mellons, Muskmellons: although the Land be over-grown with weeds through their laziness, yet they have two or three crops of Corn a year, as the *Indians* themselves inform us. The Country abounds with Grapes, large Figs, and Peaches; the Woods with Deer, Conies, Turkeys, Quails, Curlews, Plovers, Teale, Herons; and as the *Indians* say, in Winter, with Swans, Geese, Cranes, Duck and Mallard, and innumerable of other water-Fowls, whose names we know not, which lie in the Rivers, Marshes, and on the Sands: Oysters in abundance, with great store of Muscles; A sort of fair Crabs, and a round Shell-fish called *Horfe-feet*; The Rivers stored plentifully with Fish that we saw play and leap. There are great Marshes, but most as far as we saw little worth, except for a Root that grows in them the *Indians* make good Bread of. The Land we suppose is healthful; for the *English* that were cast away on that Coast in *July* last, were there most part of that time of year that is sickly in *Virginia*; and notwithstanding hard usage, and lying on the ground naked, yet had their perfect healths all the time. The Natives are very healthful; we saw many very Aged amongst them. The Air is clear and sweet, the Countrey very pleasant and delightful: And we could wish, that all they

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that want a happy settlement, of our *English* Nation, were well transported thither, &c.

FROM *Tuesday* the 29th of *September*, to *Friday* the second of *October*, we ranged along the shoar from the lat. 32 deg. 20 min. to the lat. 33 deg. 11 min. but could discern no Entrance for our Ship, after we had passed to the Northwards of 32 deg. 40 min. On *Saturday* the third instant, a violent storm came up, the wind between the North and the East; which Easterly winds and foul weather continued till *Monday* the 12th. By reason of which storms and foul weather, we were forced to get off to Sea to secure our selves and ship, and were hurried by reason of a strong Current, almost to Cape *Hatterasse* in lat. 35 deg. 30 min. On *Monday* the 12th aforesaid we came to an Anchor in seven fathom at *Cape Fair-Road*, and took the Meridian-Altitude of the Sun, and were in the lat. 33 deg. 43 min. the wind continuing still Easterly, and foul weather till *Thursday* the 15th instant; and on *Friday* the 16th, the wind being at *N. W.* we weighed, and sailed up *Cape Fair-River*, some four or five leagues, and came to an Anchor in six or seven fathom; at which time several *Indians* came on Board, and brought us great store of Fresh-fish, large Mulletts, young Bass, Shads, and several other sorts of very good well-tasted Fish. On *Saturday* the 17th, we went down to

the Cape to see the English Cattle, but could not find them, though we rounded the Cape: And having an *Indian* Guide with us, here we rode till the 24th instant; the wind being against us, we could not go up the River with our Ship; in which time we went on shoar, and viewed the land of those quarters. On *Saturday* we weighed, and sailed up the River some four leagues or thereabouts. *Sunday* the 25th, we weighed again, and towed up the River, it being calm, and got up some fourteen leagues from the Harbours mouth, where we moored our Ship. On *Monday* the 26 *October*, we went down with the Yoal to *Necoës*, an *Indian* Plantation, and viewed the Land there. On *Tuesday* the 27th, we rowed up the main River with our long-Boat and twelve men, some ten leagues or thereabouts. On *Wednesday* the 28th, we rowed up about eight or nine leagues more. *Thursday* the 29th was foul weather, of much rain and wind, which forced us to make Huts, and lye still. *Friday* the 30th, we proceeded up the main River, seven or eight leagues. *Saturday* the 31, we got up three or four leagues more, and came to a Tree that lay athwart the River: but because our Provisions were near spent, we proceeded no further, but returned downward the remainder of that day; and on *Monday* the second of *November*, we came aboard our Ship. *Tuesday* the third, we lay still to refresh ourselves. On *Wednesday* the 4th, we

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went five or six leagues up the River to search a branch that ran out of the main River towards the *N. W.* In which branch we went up five or six leagues: not liking the Land, we returned on board that night about midnight, and called that place *Swampy-branch*. *Thursday* the fifth instant, we staid aboard; on *Friday* the 6th we went up *Greens River*, the mouth of it being against the place we rode with our Ship. On *Saturday* the 7th, we proceeded up the said River some fourteen or fifteen leagues in all, and found that it ended in several small branches; the Land for the most part being marshy and swamps, we returned towards our ship, and got aboard in the night: *Sunday* the 8th instant we lay still, and on *Monday* the 9th we went again up the main River, being well provided with Provisions and all things necessary, and proceeded upwards till *Thursday* noon 12th instant, at which time we came to a place where two Islands were in the middle of the River, and by reason of the crookedness of the *River* at that place, several Trees lay athwart both branches, which stopped up the passage of each branch, that we could proceed no further with our Boat; but we went up the River side by land some three or four miles, and found the River to enlarge it self: So we returned, leaving it as far as we could see up a long reach running *N. E.* we judging our selves from the Rivers mouth North near fifty leagues;

we returned, viewing the Land on both sides the River, and found as good tracts of land, dry, well wooded, pleasant and delightful as we have seen any where in the world, with great burthen of Graffe on it, the land being very level, with steep banks on both sides the River, and in some places very high, the woods stor'd with abundance of Deer and Turkies every where; we never going on shoar, but saw of each also Partridges great store, Cranes abundance, Conies, which we saw in several places; we heard several Wolves howling in the woods, and saw where they had torn a Deer in pieces. Also in the River we saw great store of Ducks, Teale, VVidgeon, and in the woods great flocks of Parrakeeto's; the Timber that the woods afford for the most part consisting of Oaks of four or five sorts, all differing in leaves, but all bearing Akorns very good: we measured many of the Oaks in several places, which we found to be in bignesse some two, some three, and others almost four fathoms; in height, before you come to boughs or limbs, forty, fifty, sixty foot, and some more, and those Oaks very common in the upper parts of both Rivers; Also a very tall large Tree of great bignesse, which some do call *Cyprus*, the right name we know not, growing in Swamps. Likewise Walnut, Birch, Beech, Maple, Ash, Bay, Willough, Alder and Holly; and in the lowermost parts innumerable of Pines, tall and good for boards and masts,

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growing for the most part in barren sandy ground, but in some places up the River in good ground, being mixed amongst Oaks and other Timber. We saw several Mulberry-trees, multitudes of Grape-Vines, and some Grapes which we did eat of. We found a very large and good tract of Land on the N.W. side of the River, thin of Timber, except here and there a very great Oak, and full of Graffe, commonly as high as a mans middle, and in many places to his shoulders, where we saw many Deer and Turkies; also one Deer with very large horns, and great in body, therefore called it *Stag-Park*: it being a very pleasant and delightful place, we travelled in it several miles, but saw no end thereof. So we returned to our Boat, and proceeded down the River, and came to another place some twenty five leagues from the Rivers mouth on the same side, where found a place no less delightful than the former; and as far as we could judge, both Tracts came into one. This lower place we called *Rocky-point*, because we found many Rocks and Stones of several bignesse upon the Land, which is not common. We sent our Boat down the River before us; our selves travelling by Land many miles, were so much taken with the pleasantness of the Land, that travelling into the woods so far, we could not recover our Boat and company that night. On *Sunday* the morrow following we got to our Boat, and on *Monday*

the 16th *November*, we proceeded down to a place on the East-side of the River some twenty three leagues from the Harbours mouth, which we call'd *Turkie-Quarters*, because we killed several *Turkies* thereabouts. VVe viewed the Land there, and found some tracts of good Land, and high, facing upon the River about one mile inward, but backwards some two miles all Pine-land, but good pasture-ground: we returned to our Boat, and proceeded down some two or three leagues, where we had formerly viewed, and found it a tract of as good Land as any we have seen, with as good Timber on it. The banks of the River being high, therefore we called it *High-Land Point*. Having viewed that, we proceeded down the River, going on shoar in several places on both sides, it being generally large Marshes, and many of them dry, that they may more fitly be called Meadows: the wood-land against them is for the most part Pine, and in some places as barren as ever we saw Land, but in other places good Pasture-ground: And on *Tuesday* the 17th instant, we got aboard our Ship, riding against the mouth of *Green's River*, where our men are providing wood, and fitting the Ship for the Sea: In the interim, we took some view of the Land on both sides of the River there, finding some good Land, but more bad, and the best not comparable to that above. *Friday* the 20th instant was foul weather, yet in the Afternoon we

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weighed, and went down the River some two leagues, and came to Anchor against the mouth of *Hilton's* River, and took some view of the Land there on both sides, which appeared to us much like unto that at *Green's* River. *Monday* 23. we went with our Long-boat well victualled and manned up *Hilton's* River; and when we came three leagues or thereabouts up the said River, we found this and *Green's* River to come into one, and so continued for four or five leagues, which causeth a great Island betwixt them. We proceeded still up the River, till they parted again, keeping up *Hilton's* River on the Lar-board side, and followed the said River five or six leagues further, where we found another large branch of *Green's* River to come into *Hilton's*, which maketh another great Island. On the Star-board side going up, we proceeded still up the River some four leagues, and returned, taking a view of the Land on both sides, and now judge our selves to be from our ship some eighteen leagues *W.* and by *W.* One league below this place came four *Indians* in a Canoa to us, and sold us several baskets of Akorns, which we satisfied for, and so left them; but one of them followed us on the shoar some two or three miles, till he came on the top of a high bank, facing on the *River*, we rowing underneath it, the said *Indian* shot an Arrow at us, which missed one of our men very narrowly, and stuck in the

upper edge of the Boat, which broke in pieces, leaving the head behind. Hereupon we presently made for the shoar, and went all up the bank except four to guide the Boat; we searched for the *Indian*, but could not finde him: At last we heard some firing further in the Woods, which we thought had been as a Challenge to us to come and fight them. We went towards them with all speed, but before we came in sight of them, we heard two guns go off from our Boat, whereupon we retreated with all speed to secure our Boat and Men: when we came to them we found all well, & demanded the reason of their firing the Guns: they told us that an *Indian* came creeping on the Bank as they thought to shoot at them, therefore shot at him a great distance with Swan-shot, but thought they did him no hurt, for they saw him run away. Presently after our return to the Boat, while we were thus talking, came two *Indians* to us with their Bows and Arrows, crying *Bonny, Bonny*: we took their Bows and Arrows from them, and gave them Beads, to their content. Then we led them by the hand to the Boat, and shewed them the Arrow-head sticking in her side, and related to them the bufinesse; which when they understood, both of them manifested much sorrow, and made us understand by signes, that they knew nothing of it: so we let them go, and marked a Tree on the top of the bank, calling the place *Mount-*

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Skerry. We looked up the River as far as we could discern, and saw that it widened itself, and came running directly down the Countrey: So we returned, and viewed the Land on both sides the River, finding the banks steep in some places, but very high in others. The banks sides are generally Clay, and as some of our company doth affirm, some Marle. The Land and Timber up this River is no way inferior to the best in the other, which we call the main River: So far as we discovered, this seems as fair, if not fairer than the former, and we think runs further into the Countrey, because there is a strong Current comes down, and a great deal more drift-wood. But to return to the business of the Land and Timber: We saw several plats of Ground cleared by the *Indians* after their weak manner, compassed round with great Timber-Trees; which they are no ways able to fall, and so keep the Sun from their Corn-fields very much; yet nevertheless we saw as large Corn-stalks or bigger, than we have seen any where else: So we proceeded down the River, till we found the Canoa the *Indian* was in who shot at us. In the morning we went on shoar, and cut the same in pieces: the *Indians* perceiving us coming towards them, run away. We went to his Hut, and pulled it down, brake his pots, platters, and spoons, tore his Deer-skins and mats in pieces, and took away a basket of Akorns: So we proceeded down the

River two leagues, or thereabouts, and came to another place of *Indians*, bought Akorns and some Corn of them, and went downwards two leagues more: at last we espied an *Indian* peeping over a high bank: we held up a Gun at him; and calling to him, said, *Skerry*: presently several *Indians* appeared to us, making great signes of friendship, saying, *Bonny, Bonny*, and running before us, endeavouring to perfwade us to come on shoar; but we answered them with stern countenances, and said, *Skerry*, taking up our guns, and threatening to shoot at them; but they cryed still *Bonny, Bonny*: And when they saw they could not prevail, nor perfwade us to come on shoar, two of them came off to us in a Canoa, one padling with a great Cane, the other with his hand; they came to us, and laid hold of our Boat, sweating and blowing, and told us it was *Bonny* on shoar, and at last perfwaded us to go ashoar with them. As soon as we landed, several *Indians*, to the number of near forty lusty men, came to us, all in a great sweat, and told us *Bonny*: we shewed them the Arrow-head in the Boats-side, and a piece of the Canoa which we had cut in pieces: the chief man of them made a large Speech, and threw Beads into our Boat, which is a signe of great love and friendship; and made us to understand, when he heard of the Affront which we had received, it caused him to cry: and now he and his men were come

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to make peace with us, making signes to us that they would tye his Arms, and cut off his head that had done us that abuse; and for a further testimony of their love and good will towards us, they presented to us two very handsome proper young *Indian* women, the tallest that we have seen in this Countrey; which we supposed to be the Kings Daughters, or persons of some great account amongst them. These young women were ready to come into our Boat; one of them crouding in, was hardly persuaded to go out again. We presented to the King a Hatchet and several Beads, also Beads to the young women and to the chief men, and to the rest of the *Indians*, as far as our Beads would go: they promised us in four days to come on board our Ship, and so departed from us. When we left the place, which was presently, we called it *Mount-Bonny*, because we had there concluded a firm Peace. Proceeding down the River two or three leagues further, we came to a place where were nine or ten Canoa's all together; we went ashore there, and found several *Indians*, but most of them were the same which had made Peace with us before: We made little stay there, but went directly down the River, and came to our Ship before day. *Thursday* the 26th of *November*, the wind being at South, we could not go down to the Rivers mouth: but on *Friday* the 27th, we weighed at the mouth of *Hilton's* River,

and got down one league towards the Harbours mouth. On *Sunday* the 29th, we got down to *Crane-Island*, which is four leagues or thereabouts above the Entrance of the Harbours mouth. Now on *Tuesday* the first of *December*, we made a purchase of the River and land of *Cape-Fair*, of *Wattecoofa*, and such other *Indians* as appeared to us to be the chief of those parts: they brought us store of Fresh-fish aboard, as Mulletts, Shads, and other very good Fish: this River is all Fresh-water fit to drink. Some eight leagues within the mouth, the Tide runs up about thirty-five leagues, but stops and rifeth a great deal farther up; it flowes at the Harbours mouth S. E. and N. W. six foot at Neap-Tides, and eight foot at Spring-Tides: the Chanel on the Easter-side by the *Cape-shoar* is the best, and lyes close aboard the *Cape-land*, being three fathoms at High-water, in the shallowest place in the Chanel just at the Entrance; but as soon as you are past that place half a Cables length inward, you shall have six or seven fathoms, a fair turning Chanel into the River, and so continuing four or five leagues upwards; afterwards the Chanel is more difficult, in some places six or seven fathoms, four or five, and in other places but nine or ten foot, especially where the River is broad. When the River comes to part, and grows narrow, there is all Chanel from side to side in most places; in some places you shall have five, six, or seven fath-

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oms, but generally two or three, Sand and Oaze. We viewed the Cape-land, and judged it to be little worth, the Woods of it shrubby and low, the Land sandy and barren; in some places Grass and Rushes, and in other places nothing but clear sand: a place fitter to starve Cattle in our judgment, than to keep them alive; yet the *Indians*, as we understand, keep the *English* Cattle down there, and suffer them not to go off the said Cape, as we suppose, because the Country-*Indians* shall have no part with them, and as we think, are fallen out about them, who shall have the greatest share. They brought aboard our Ship very good and fat Beef several times, which they could afford very reasonable; also fat and very large Swine, good cheap penny-worths: but they may thank their friends of *New-England*, who brought their Hogs to so fair a Market. Some of the *Indians* brought very good Salt aboard us, and made signs, pointing to both sides of the Rivers mouth, that there was great store thereabouts. We saw up the River several good places for the setting up of Corn or Saw-mills. In that time as our business called us up and down the River and Branches, we kill'd of wild-fowl, four Swans, ten Geese, twenty nine Cranes, ten Turkeys, forty Duck and Mallard, three dozen of Parakeeto's, and six or seven dozen of other small Fowls, as Curlews and Plovers, &c.

VV Hereas there was a Writing left in a Post at the Point of *Cape Fair* River, by those *New-England*-men that left Cattel with the *Indians* there, the Contents whereof tended not only to the disparagement of the Land about the said River, but also to the great discouragement of all those that should hereafter come into those parts to settle: In Answer to that scandalous writing, We whose names are under-written do affirm, That we have seen facing on both sides of the River, and branches of *Cape-Fair* aforefaid, as good Land, and as well Timbered, as any we have seen in any part of the world, sufficient to accommodate thousands of our *English* Nation, lying commodiously by the said River.

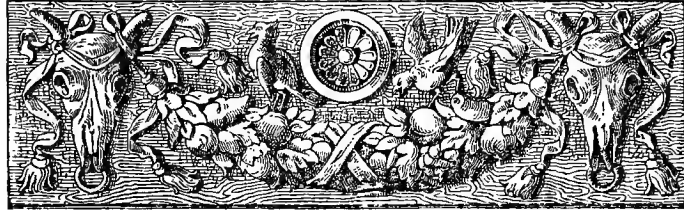
On *Friday* the 4th of *December*, the winde being fair, we put out to Sea, bound for *Barbadoes*; and on the 6th day of *January*, 166 $\frac{3}{4}$, we came to Anchor in *Carlisle*-Bay; and after several known apparent dangers both by Sea and Land, have now brought us all in safety to our long-wish'd-for and much desired Port, to render an Accompt of our Discovery, the verity of which we aver.

Anthony Long.

William Hilton.

Peter Fabian.

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A Copy of the *Spanyard's* first Letter.

I Am come to this Town of Infidel-*Indians*, to seek some *English*, which my Governour and Captain-General, *Don Alonso de Arangows, de Colis*, Cavallier, and Knight of the Order of St. *James*, for his Majesty, had notice that there was a Ship lost in that Port in which you are, that the men might not run any hazard of their lives, as those with me here have. *Don Adeleyers*, with the Governor of the Garifon of S. *Augustine*, are gone to ranfome and free the Subjects of the King your Master, *CHARLES* the Second: Wherefore I aduise you, that if these *Indians* (although Infidels and *Barbarians*) have not killed any of the Christians, and do require as a gift or courtesie for those four men, four Spades, and four Axes, some Knives, and some Beads, and the four *Indians* which you have there, you deliver them, and that for their sakes that shall sayl on this Coast: you may fend a Boat, who when she comes athwart the Port of St. *Ellens*, may hoist an Ancient twice or thrice, and I will

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do the same. The shortness of the dispatch I desire, for I want provision for my Soldiers, and the way is large. Your Servant desires you would give me a speedy Answer; and what may be done in your service, I shall do very willingly: And if you have none that can interpret the *Spanish* Tongue, you may write in your own, for here are your Countrey-men that can understand it: but if you can, let it be in *Spanish*.

From the Capt. Alonso Argucles.

From St. Ellens the 22 of September. 1663.

The Copies of our Letters sent to the
ENGLISH and SPANIARDS at St. *Ellens*, with the
Answer of Mr. *William Davis*, and the *Spaniards*
also, here inclosed.

Loving Friends and Country-men,

WE are come up the River with our Ship,
and are resolved to come through by
Combibeh, to St. *Ellens*, and to get you
away by fair means, or otherways. If that will
not do, we have five of your company already:
and the Captain of *Edistow*, and one more are
Prisoners with us, whom we intend to keep till
we have rescued all the *English* Prisoners out of
the hands of the *Indians*. Send us word by this
Bearer what you know concerning the *Span-*

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yards; for the youth *Morgan* tells us that the *Spanyards* are come with Soldiers to fetch you away. Fail not to inform us how things are. Nothing else at present, but remain

Your friend and Servant

WILL. HILTON.

From on Board the Adventure,
Septemb. 21. 1663.

An Answer to the *Spanyards* Letter
not understood.

Honoured Sir,

WHereas wee received a Letter from you, the Contents whereof we understand not, because none of us could read *Spanish*. Our bufineffe is to demand and receive the *English* Prifoners from the hands of the *Indians*, and then they shall have their *Indians* which we have detained on Board, with fatisfaction for their pains. We understand not at present that we have any bufineffe with you. Not else at present, but remain

Your Friend and Servant in what I may,

WILL. HILTON,

From on Board the Adventure,
Septemb. 23. 1663.

To his honoured Friend the *Spanish*
Captain at St. *Ellens*.

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An Answer to Mr. *William Davis* his
Lines written to us in the *Spanyard's* Letter, *Viz.*

Mr. William Davis,

WE received your Lines in the *Spanish* Letter, but hear nothing of your coming to us. Let your Keepers fend you, and that without delay; for you may assure them, That we will be gone, and carry the *Indians* away with us, except they fend the *English* suddenly on Board, and then shall have their *Indians* upon our receipt of the *English*. Not else at present, but thank the *Spanish* Captain for the Pork and Venison he sent us. Remain

Your loving Friend

WILL. HILTON.

From on Board the Adventure,
September 24. 1663.

To Mr. *William Davis* at St. *Ellens*.

SIR,

WE have received your second Letter, and give you no Answer, for the Reason mentioned in our former Letter to you. Please to inform the *Indians*, That if they bring not the *English* Prisoners on Board us without further delay, we are resolved to carry their *Indians* we have on Board away: But if they will bring the

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English, they shall have theirs, with satisfaction.
Also we thank you for your Venison and Pork.
Not else at present, but remain

SIR,

Your Friend and Servant in what I may

WILL. HILTON.

From on Board the Adventure

Septemb. 24. 1663.

To his Honoured Friend, the *Spanish*
Captain at St. *Ellens*.

A Copy of the *Spanyard's* second Letter.

MY Governour and Capt. General, as soon as he had News that a Ship, by Nation *English*, was lost in that Port in which you now are, sent me with Soldiers of the Garison of St. *Augustine* in *Florida*, as they have at other times done, to free them from death; for which cause I came to this Port of St. *Ellens*, where I found all these *Indians* in a fright, fearing that you will do them some mischief: So having found four men of those that were lost, I thought good to advise you, that you might carry them in your company, giving some gifts to those *Indians* which they desire; which is, four Spades, four Axes, some Knives, and some Beads. This they desire, not as payment, but only as an acknowledgment

To the Coast of Florida. 33

of a kindness for having saved their lives; which they have always done as Naturals who have given their obedience to the King our Master. And they do also desire you to let go those four *Indians* which are there: You may send a Boat when you discover the Points of *St. Ellens*; may hoist an Ancient two or three times, and I will do the same. I desire your Answer may be so-
dain; for I am scarce of Provisions, and the way is somewhat long: and if you have no body who understands *Spanish*, you may write in *English*, for here are your Countreymen who will interpret it.

By the Captian Alanfo Arguiles.

From St. Ellens, Septemb.

23. 1663.



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Proposals made to all such Persons as shall undertake to become the first Settlers on Rivers, Harbours, or Creeks, whose Mouth or Entrance is Southwards or Westwards of Cape St. *Romana* in the Province of *Carolina*, and execute the same at their own hazard and charge of Transportation, Ammunition, and Provisions, as is hereafter expressed, &c.

I.

Imprimis, *It is agreed and consented to by us Thomas Mudyford, and Peter Colleton, Esquires, who are impowered by the Lords Proprietors to treat in their behalf; That in consideration of the good service which Captain Anthony Long, Captain William Hilton, and Mr. Peter Fabian have done in making so clear a Discovery on that Coast, They shall each of them enjoy to them and their Heirs for ever one thousand Acres of Land apiece upon the said River, Harbour, or Creeks, on such places as they shall desire, not taken up before.*

II.

Item, *To Master Pyam Blowers, and Master John Hancock, five hundred Acres apiece in manner as aforesaid.*

III.

Item, *To all the Sea-men and Adventurers in the said Ship, one hundred Acres apiece in manner as aforesaid.*

IV.

Item, *To every person that hath subscribed and paid, or hath subscribed and shall pay within two moneths next after the Date hereof, unto the Treasurer appointed by the Committee for defraying the Charge of the late Discovery, and towards the publique Stock, five hundred Acres of Land, besides what they are otherwayes to receive and enjoy each for every thousand pounds of Sugar, and so for greater or lesser quantity proportionably, to possesse and enjoy the same in manner as aforesaid; the said Adventurers having promised, That the severall and respective Persons above-intended, shall within five years next ensuing, have one Person white or black, young or old, transported at their Charge as aforesaid, on that or some other parcel of Land in the Province, for every hundred of Acres of Land that is or shall be due to them for their adventures as aforesaid: But when*

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once taken up, to settle the same within one year after it is once taken up, or lose the Land.

V.

Item, To every Person that goes, or sends an Agent at his or their own cost with the first Ship or Fleet, or within six weeks next after the first Ship or Fleet that shall be set out from this Island (none to be accompted as first Settlers but such as do send in the first Fleet) Armed with a good Fire-lock, ten pounds of Powder, and twenty pounds of Bullet, or Lead, and Victualled for six months, shall have one hundred Acres of Land, and the like quantity of Acres for every Man-servant that he carrieth so armed and provided, to the person at whose charge they shall be transported as aforesaid.

VI.

Item, To every person that shall second the first undertakers, that is to say, shall go within two months next after those that are accompted as first Settlers, armed and provided as aforesaid, seventy Acres of Land, and seventy Acres for every Man-servant that he or they shall carry or send Armed and provided as aforesaid.

VII.

Item, To every person provided as aforesaid,

To the Coast of Florida. 37

that shall go within two years after the first undertakers, fifty Acres of Land, and as much to him or them for every Man-servant he or they shall carry or send, armed and provided as aforesaid.

VIII.

Item, To every Free-woman above the age of twelve years, that shall go, or be carried thither within the first five years, forty Acres of Land.

IX.

Item, To all Male-Children above the age of fourteen years, the same quantity that is allowed to Free-men, and on the same Conditions.

X.

Item, The Lords Proprietors will grant unto every Parish one hundred Acres of Land for the Church and other publique uses.

XI.

Item, To every person that hath subscribed, and shall pay to the above-mentioned Discovery, who shall go or send an Agent within the first five years next after the first Sellers, forty Acres of Land; and as much to them for every Man-servant they

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shall carry or send within that time armed and provided as aforesaid, and the like quantity for all others so transporting themselves or servants within the first three years, who are not Subscribers.

XII.

Item, To every Man-servant that shall go with the first undertakers, fifty Acres of Land; and to such as go with the second Adventurers thirty Acres, and for all other servants that shall go within the first five years, twenty Acres, and for every Woman-servant ten Acres, to become due at the Expiration of the first Term of their servitude in that Countrey.

XIII.

Item, To the Owner of every Negro-Man or Slave, brought thither to settle within the first year, twenty acres; and for every Woman-Negro or Slave, ten acres of Land; and all Men-Negro's, or slaves after that time, and within the first five years, ten acres, and for every Woman-Negro or slave, five acres.

XIV.

Item, That all the before-mentioned parcels of Land given, or to be given, allotted or granted to any person or persons whatsoever, shall be held

and enjoyed to them, their Heirs and Assigns for ever, in free and common Soccage, according to the Tenure of East-Greenwich within the County of Kent, within the Kingdom of England (and not in Capite, or by Knights-service) paying as a fine once for all to the Lords Proprietors, or their Agents impowered to receive the same, one half-penny per acre for every Acre of Land that is or shall be taken up as aforesaid, or the value of the said half-penny per Acre, when the person who is to receive it shall receive his Deed or Copy of Record for his Land so taken up; and in lieu of all, and all manner of Rents, Services, Fines, Taxes and Impositions whatsoever, one ear of Indian Corn for every hundred acres of Land so taken up, at a certain time and place prescribed, if lawfully demanded.

XV.

Item, It is further agreed, That every person shall or may take up their Land, or any part thereof, where they please, in any place not before taken up: Provided they do therein submit to such Method as the Governour and Council for the time being shall judge most safe and convenient.

XVI.

Item, That the Lords Proprietors shall grant to the Free-Holders the Priviledge of choofing an

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annual Assembly, wherein by the consent of the said Lords, or their Delegates, they shall be empowered to make Lawes, and them confirm, publish, and abrogate, as in the great Charter is expressed; and that the Assembly may lawfully, without the consent of the Governour, complain to the said Lords of such Grievances as lye upon the People.

XVII.

Item, That forasmuch as the Lords Proprietors or their Delegates may not be at all times there present, to consent to such Lawes as are or shall be thought necessary; In such Case all Lawes and Orders made by the Governour, Council and Assembly, shall be in force untill the Denyall thereof by the Lords Proprietors shall be to them signified under their Hands in Writing.

XVIII.

Item, That the said Free-Holders shall have the freedome of Trade, Immunity of Customes, and Liberty of Conscience, and all other Priviledges made good unto them as amply and as fully as is at large expressed in the great Charter granted to the said Lords Proprietors from His Majesty.



Navicula Floridanorum ex trunco unius arboris igne exusta, In Virginia similes habet.

A
RELATION
OF

A Voyage on the Coast of the

PROVINCE OF CAROLINA,

Formerly called *Florida*, in the Continent
of the Northern *America*, from *Charles River* near
Cape Feare, in the County of *Clarendon*, and the
Lat. of 34 Deg:

TO PORT ROYALL,

In the North Lat: of 32 Deg: begun 14th June, 1666;

Performed by *Robert Sandford*, Esq^{re},
Secretary and Chiefe Register for the Lords Proprie-
tors of their County of *Clarendon*, in the Province aforesaid.

Now first printed from the original *Shaftesbury* Papers, Section IX,
No. 7, Bundle 48—Public Record Office, *London*.

To the Right Hono'ble Edward, Earle of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of England; George, Duke of Albemarle, Capt.-Gener'll of all His Maj'ties forces in the Kingdome of England, Scotland and Ireland and Master of the Horfe; Wm. Lord Craven; John Lord Berkeley; Anthony Lord Ashley, Chancellor of the Excheq'r; Sr. George Cartrett, Vice-Chamberlaine of His Maj'ties Houfehold; Sr. Wm. Berkeley, Kn't, and Sr. John Colleton, Kn't and Baron'tt, The true and absolute Lords Proprietors of all the Province of Carolina:

Right Honor'ble,

IT is not prefumption but Duty that presents this Narrative (however rude and imperfect) to foe Illuſtrious, I had rather ſay a Conſtellation than a Corporation; the matter related was performed under your Auſpice in your Country and by your ſervant. It meaſures to you my Lords (as his foot did Hercules) the greatnes of your Soveraignes Guift, and to the World ye greatneſſ of your truſt and favour with him. It ſhews you in Proſpective how laſting a Renowne you may adde to your already moſt glorious Names. How boundles a Grandeur to your longeſt Poſterity. None indeede but God and the King can move your hearts to doe theſe great things for yourſelves and Nation. Yett that ſuch a Notion be effected may and ſhall bee the prayers of Right Hono'ble,

Withall ſubmiſſion, readineſſ & fidelity,

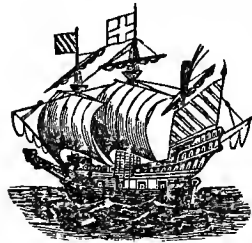
Your Lord'pprs ſervant,

ROB. SANDFORD.



The Port Royal Discovery.

THE Right Hono'ble the Lords Proprietors of ye Province of *Carolina*, in profecution of his sacred Ma'ties pious intentions of planting and Civilizing thofe his towns and people of the Northerne *America*, which Neighbour Southward on *Virginia* (by fome called *Florida*) found out and discovered by *St. Sebastian Cabott* in the yeare 1497 att the Charges of H. 7, King of England, &c., Constituted Sir *John Yeamans* Baronett their Lt.-Generall, with ample Powers for placing a Colony in fome of the Rivers to the Southward and Westward of Cape *St. Romana*. Who departing from the Ifland Barbados in Octob. 1665 in a Fly-boate of about 150 Tonns, accompanied by a small Friggatt of his owne and a Sloope purchased by a Comon purfe for the service of the Colonyes. After they had beene feparated by a great storme att Sea (wherein the Friggatt loft all her Mafts and him-



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felfe had like to have foundred, and were all brought together againe in the beginning of November to an anchor before the Mouth of *Charles River* neere *Cape Feare* in ye County of *Clarendon*, part of the fame province newly begunn to be peopled, and within the Lt.-Gen'lls Commiffion). They were all blowne from their anchors by a suddaine violent Guft; the Fly-boat Sr. *John* was in narrowly efcapeing the dangerous shoales of the Cape. But this proved but a fhort difference of their fate, ffor returning with a favourable wind to a fecond viewe of the entrance into *Charles River*, but (deftituted of all pilates) fave their own eyes (which the flattering gale that conducted them did alfoe delude by covering the rough vifage of their objected dangers with a thick veile of fmoth waters) they ftranded their veffel on the Middle ground of the harbours mouth, to the Westward the Channell, where the Ebbe prefently left her, and the wind with its own multeplyed forces and the auxiliaries of the tide of flood beat her to peeces.

The perfons were all faved by the Neighbourhood of the fhore, but the greateft part of their provifion of Victualls, clothes, &c., and of the Magazine of Armes, powder and other Military furniture shipped by the Lords Proprietors for the defence of the defigned Settlement perished in the waters. The Lt.-Gen'll purpofed at firft

immediately to repair his Friggatt (which together with the Sloope gote safely into the River when the Fly-boate was driven off) and to fend her backe to Barbados for recruits whilst himselfe in person attended the yssue of that discovery which I and some other Gentlemen offered to make Southwards in the Sloope. But when the great and growing necessities of the English Colony in *Charles River* (heightened by this disaster) began clamourously to crave the use of the Sloope in a Voyage to *Virginia* for their speedy relief, Sr. *John* altered that his first resolution, and permitting the Sloope to goe to *Virginia* returned himselfe to Barbados in his Friggatt. Yett that the designe of the Southerne settlement might not wholly fall, Hee conditioned with the freighters of the Sloope that in case shee miscarried in her *Virginia* voyage they should hire Capt. *Edward Stanyarn's* vessell (then in their harbour but bound for Barbados) to performe the Discovery, and left a Comission with mee for the effecting it upon the retorne of the Sloope or *Stanion*, which should first happen.

The Sloope in her comeing homeward from *Virginia* loaden with Victuall being ready by reason of her extreme rottennes in her timbers to sinke was driven on shoare by a storme in the night on *Cape Lookeout* (the next headland to the North and Eastward of *Cape Feare* and about

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20 Le. distant; her men all faved except two, and with many difficultyes brought by their boate through the great found into *Albemarle River* neere the Island *Roanoake* (within this fame Province of *Carolina*) to the English plantation there.

Capt. *Stanyon* in returning from *Barbados*, weakely maned and without any fecond to himfelfe driven to and agen on the Seas for many weekes by contrary winds and conquered with care, vexation and watching, loft his reason, and after many wild extravagancies leapt overboard in a frenzye, leaveing his fmall Company and Veffel (to the much more quiett and constant, though but little more knowing and prudent conduct of a child, who yett affifted by a miraculous Providence after many wanderings brought her fafe to *Charles River* in *Clarendon*, her defired Port and Haven.

I had now a Veffell to performe my Southerne Expedition but diffurnished of a Mafter and none here skilled in Navigation to be perfuaded to the Voyage leaft, therefore a worke foe neceffary to promote the fettlement of this Province fhould be poorely left without an attempt, Myfelfe undertooke the Office, though noe better capacitated for it then a little reading in the Mathematicks had rendred mee with the helpe of a fewe obfervations made whilst a paffenger in fome late Sea Voyages to divert their tedium.

On the 14th June 1666 I entered on my charge, neere six months after the date of my Com-miffion (foe long had theife various accidents detained mee), and on the 16th I left *Charles River* fayling Westward with a faire gale att East alongft that goodly and bold bay which on her two Capes, *Feare* and *Romania* as on two hornes, procures all dangers of Flatts and fhoales from her owne more gentle bofome. To make her yett more fignall I named her *Berkly Bay* from the Right Hon'ble *John Lord Berkly* and Sr. *Wm. Berkly*, two of her noble Lords Proprietors.

I was accompanied by Capt. *George Cary*, Lt. *Samuell Harvy*, Lt. *Joseph Woory*, Ens. *Henry Brayne*, Ens. *Richard Abrahall* and Mr. *Tho. Giles*, and feverall other inhabitants of the County of *Clarendon* to ye number of 17 besides myfelfe (and the fhipps Company, which alas were but two men and a boy). With mee I tooke a fmale fhallowpe of fome three tonns belonging to ye Lords Proprietors and appointed by the Lt.-Gen'll for that fervice, in which I placed Ens. *Henry Brayne* of fome Experience in Sea matters and two other men, foe referving Eighteene of all forts in the biggeft veffel, whose burden alfoe exceeded fcarce fiveteene Tonns.

The 19th in the night it being very cloudy and darke and hee att our helme unawares

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bringing our Veffell aſtaves, we loſt Company of our Shalloope. The 22d about 7 o'clock in the morning wee made the land and a fair River to Leward of us (haveing beene driven out to Sea by a Southweſt winde from the 18th to the 21ſt, when a ſtrong Eaſterly gale brought us in with the ſhoare againe). Wee bore up to this River, and a great way kept our depth of fix and five fathom water without any ſigne of breakers. Att length it ſhoaled, and Wee could plainly diſcerne a breach in the Eaſtern board. The River when wee firſt made it bore N.W. by W. of us, and by this time we had brought it to N. W. by N.: being therefore come into two fath. water and judging our ſelves on the banke of the viſible Eaſterne ſhoalings Wee ſteered more Weſterly and preſently deepened our Water to three fathom and ſoe upwards. But the wind being at Eaſt and the Water ebbing, if wee had gone more Weſterly Wee could not have luff'd in; Wherefore I reſolved (Noe breach appearing all before mee) to runn in directly with the River which nowe bore N.N.W., and in ſtanding in that Courſe one heave of the lead Wee had but 11 foot water, but the next was two fathom, which depth and betweene that and two fathom and a halfe continued a great while, and as we approached the Weſterne point of the Entrance it deepened ſoe that thoſe aboard ye point Wee found five and fix fathom water and ſoe upwards

to nine fathom all the way in. It was halfe Ebbe at least when Wee entred, and I am very much perswaded that if Wee had gonne foe farr Westerly as till ye River had borne North or N. N. E., wee had found a much deeper Channell, for though it blew a very fresh gale att East (which here is alongst shore and somewhat upon the Westernne Coast), yett we could not discerne any appearance of Flatts at all to the Westward.

Being come about foure or five miles within the River I anchored, and a Canoa with two *Indians* came presently aboard mee and told mee that was the Country of *Edistoh*, and that the chiefe towne or seate of the *Casique* was within on the Westernne shoare somewhat lower downe towards the Sea, by which relation I gueessed this to be the same River that some *English* in a former discovery mentioned by the name of *Grandy* (if it be not rather the French *Gironde*) and only sawe of att Sea but entered not; that it might noe longer remaine under an uncertaine distinction I called it from the name of my Lieutenant, *Harvy Haven*. It lyes about 32 d. 3 m. and the markes to knowe it by as you come from Sea are these: The North East side is a bluffeland, rounding from the River and stretching East into the Sea, hence a lodge of breakers runn out South before the Harbour's mouth, on which wee borrowed when wee made such shoale water in our Entrance. The Southwest side makes a

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tharpe lowe flat point bare of trees, a pretty way from the Entrance West, and then shews a ham-mocke or two of thicke shrubby trees. From this point the Coast tends S.W. and then W.S.W. Just within the Entrance is a shewe of a faire Creeke on the Starboard side and another on the West or larbord side. Almost opofite from the uper side of the East side Creeke a Marsh Island runns out West and Southerly almost croff the River. Edged to the Seaward with a banke of Oyfter shells, discernable a good way to Sea as you come from the Northward, and particularly meett with two lowe trees which in ye offing and before the Oyfter banke is discovered seeme as Vesieble riding within the River. It flowes here East and West neere eight foote perpendicular at spring tides. The Woods on each side entering, to us seemed to consist most of live Oake, the land levell, of an habitable height generally, with steepe redd bankes here and there appeareing over the Marshes, on which in many places wee could see the fields of Maiz greenly flourishing.

The next day, being the 23rd June, I went with my boate into a Creek on the East shoare opposite to where the Veffell rode, a very faire and deepe Creeke or River goeing North and Easterly to appearance a long way. Being gone about a mile up I landed and, according to my instructions, in prefence of my Company took a formall

possession by turffe and twigg of that whole Country from the Lat. of 36 deg. North to 29 d. South and West to the South Seas by the name of the Province of *Carolina*, for Our Sovereigne Lord *Charles* the Second, King of *England*, and his heirs and fuceffors, and to the use of the Right Hono'ble *Edward*, Earle of Clarendon, *George*, Duke of Albermarle, *William Lord Craven*, *John Lord Berkeley*, *Anthony Lord Ashley*, Sr. *George Cartrett*, Sr. *William Berkeley* and Sr. *John Colleton*, their heirs and assigns, according to the Letters Patents of Our Sovereigne Lord the King. I ranged a little on either side this Creeke, passed through severall fields of Maiz or *Indian* Corn, and following the guidance of a small path was brought to some of the *Indians* Habitations. I found all the land that I passed over, whether I went back or alongst the side of the Creeke, a rich fatt soyle, black mould on the topp and under mixt with a soft redd marle (which and a stiffe Clay) I after found the most generall foundation of all the land. Noe Swamps, noe Sandy land. On the Outside of the woods some single scattring Pine trees, but of the sort which is called Spruce. The rest and the Generallity of the timber being Oak, Maple, Ash, Wallnutt, Popler, Bayes, and the trees tall and straight but not very large, growing closer together than I have seene in any other part of this Province (the reason I gueffe of their being so slender).

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They are for the most part a well feized building timber, and some fewe wee sawe of Oak and Maple that would beare three or foure foot over a very great burthen upon the ground; and much of it of such growth as wee knowe to be an excellent feeding for Cattle, and so thick and high that it made our travelling very tedious.

The next day I went some miles up the maine River, and finding a creek alfoe on the East side which opened some groves of Pine trees to our veiwe I putt in there purposely to see that sort of Land, and found this if any the Swamps of this Country, for this Creeke carryed us into Low broken Marshes and Islands of these pine trees lying almost leuell with the water. Wee landed on some of them, found them firme and dry (though severall dayes and but the very night before wee had store of raine) and without any signes of haveing ever beene overflowed. Yett they are seemingly so feated as that great store of raine and frequent must necessarily stand in them. The pines are all spruce; the soyle a fatt blacke mould with a scarce discernable mixture of sand founded alfoe either on marle or Clay as the other lands and bearing a very great burthen, and though on the outside Wee sawe only pine trees yett being entered the Wood wee found also Oake and severall other timber trees of a very large feize. Att a venture wee called these kind of lands pine fwamps. But I esteeme them

a very proffitable tillable ground, and some of my Company did after this see an *Indian* planted field of this sort which they told me bore as tall Maiz as any. We rowed along way up the Creeke, and besides these fwamps sawe and ranged through very spacious tracts of rich Oake land, and yett Wee were not past the Oyfter bankes and frequent heepes of shells, nor the salt water. Att my returne downe the River I sent some ashore to range on the West side who did instantly affirme that the lands there were of an equall excellency with the best of those Wee had other where viewed, and that they believed itt an impossible injunction to be putt to march to the end of the tracts. Being therefore well satisfyed with the successe of our discovery hitherto, I wayed and stood downe the River intending a short stay att the landing place neereft to the cheife Seate of *Edistone* which the *Indian* had intreated of mee that they might with the leffer trouble come aboard mee to trade. When Wee were here a Capt. of the Nation named *Shadoo* (one of them which *Hilton* had carryed to Barbados) was very earnest with some of our Company to goe with him and bye a night att their Towne, which he told us was but a smale distance thence. I being equally desirous to knowe the forme, manner and populousnesse of the place, as alsoe what state the *Casique* held (fame in all their things preferring

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this place to all the rest of the Coast) and foure of my Company, vizt: Lt. *Harvy*, Lt. *Woory*, Mr. *Thomas Giles* and Mr. *Henry Woodward*, forwardly offering themselves to the service, having alsoe some *Indians* aboard mee who constantly resided there night and day, I permitted them to go with this *Shadoo*. They returned to me the next morning with great Comendations of their entertainment, but especially of the goodness of the land they marcht through and the delightfull situation of the Towne. Telling mee withal that the *Cassique* himselfe appeared not (pretending some indisposition) but that his state was supplied by a Female, who received them with gladnes and Courtesy, placing my Lt. *Harvey* on the seat by her. Their relation gave myselfe a Curiosity (they alsoe assuring mee that it was not above foure Miles off) to goe and see that Towne: And taking with mee Capt. *George Cary* and a file of men I marched thitherward followed by a long traine of *Indians*, of whome some or other always presented himselfe to carry mee on his shoulders over any the branches of Creekes or plashy corners of Marshes in our Way. This walke through it tend to the Southward of the West, and consequently leads neere alongst the Sea-Coast. Yett it opened to our veiwe soe excellent a Country both for Wood, land and Meadowes as gave singular satisfaction to all my Company. Wee crossed one Meadowe

of not leffe then a thousand Acres, all firme good land and as rich a Soyle as any, clothed with a ffine grasse not passing knee deepe, but very thick sett and fully adorned with yeallow flowers; a pasture not inferiour to any I have seene in England. The wood land were all of the same fort both for timber and mould with the best of those we had ranged elsewhere, and without alteration or abatement from their goodnes all the way of our March. Being entered the Towne wee were conducted into a large house of a Circular forme (their generall house of State). Right against the entrance way a high seate of sufficient breadth for half a dozen persons on which sat the *Cassique* himselfe (vouchsafeing mee that favour) with his wife on his right hand (shee who had received those whome I had sent the evening before). Hee was an old man of a large stature and bone. Round the house from each side the throne quite to the Entrance were lower benches filled with the whole rabble of men, Women and children. In the center of this house is kept a constant fire mounted on a great heape of Ashes and furrounded with little lowe furrows. Capt. *Cary* and my selfe were placed on the higher seate on each side the *Cassique*, and presented with skinns, accompanied with their Ceremonies of Welcome and friendshipp (by stroaking our shoulders with their palmes and sucking in their breath the whilst). The

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Towne is feituare on the fide or rather in the skirts of a faire forrest, in which at severall distances are diverse feilds of Maiz with many little houses straglingly amongst them for the habitations of the particular families. On the East fide and part of the South it hath a large prospect over meadowes very spacious and delightful. Before the Doore of their Statehouse is a spacious walke rowed with trees on both sides, tall and full branched, not much unlike to Elms, which serves for the Exercife and recreation of the men, who by Couple runn after a marble bowle troled out alternately by themselves, with six foote staves in their hands, which they toffe after the bowle in their race, and according to the laying of their staves wine or loose the beads they contend for; an exercife approveable enough in the winter, but some what too violent (mee thought) for that season and noontime of the day. From this walke is another lesse aside from the round house for the children to sport in. After a few hours stay I returned to my Veffell with a greate troope of *Indians* att my heeles, the old *Cassique* himfelfe in the number, who lay aboard mee that night without the society of any of his people, some scores of which lay in booths of their own imediate erection on the beach.

While I lay here I had perfectly understood that the River went through to another more

Westerly, and was passable for our Veffell, and alsoe that it was not much more then a tides worke through, this increas'd my desire of passing this way. Especially being perswaded that this next River was *Jordan* (*Hilton* intimateing as much in his Journall and Mapp), Wherefore on the 27th of June, with the helpe of the tide of flood (the winde being contrary) I turned upp the River, so having oportunity to try the whole Channell, which I found generally nice, and between that and fix fathome deepe and bold home to each shoare till wee were come about 10 miles from the Harbours mouth, when the River was contracted between the Marshes. Yett here (except in one or two places where some flatts narrowed the passage) wee feldome found less than five fathom water. The River being narrowe and variously winding, noe Gale would att any time serve us long, so that wee were forced for the most part to towe through, and that often against the winde, which proved very tedious; nor could we passe but by day, which with lying two tides a ground to stopp some Leakes, made it Sunday morning the first of July before wee came into the next Westerly River, and by it into the Sea again, though by the Travers I tooke of our Course I found it performable with light boates in one tide of flood and an Ebbe. The passage is generally betweene drowned marshes, a great breadth betweene the River and wood, especial-

ly on the Island side. On the East or maine side of the Marsh is much narrower, and in many places the River runs close under the banke of wood land, which wee had the oportunity to view, and found it to continue its excellency without change or diminution. The *Indians* alsoe that inhabitt the inner parts of it affuring us that it was all alike.

The next Westerly River is a pretty faire river, not less broad than *Harvey Haven*, but its Channel more crooked, narrowe and shallowe. The West side of itt (as wee found afterwards) is but a necke of land, having a Creeke or two which seeme to goe through into the West River. It is for ye Generallity drowned Marshes alsoe yett in some places the banke is high, Crowned here and there with smale ground of wood, consisting of dry plantable Land, furrounded a good space with a firme Meadowe or pasture Land, and presenting most delectable Seates for summer recesses. I did a little wounder to see the Sea and noe apparent open passage first to the Westward as I expected (still imaginning this to be the River *Jordan*). And when I was come out of it into the Sea, and sawe none of these marks which *Hilton* had prefixed to *Jordan* I was in a great puzzle to know where wee were gott. Nothing of the Coast makeing like those drafts which *Hilton* had given of itt. But the winde first dying into a calm and then again blowing

contrary, with some Menaces of an Evening storme, I putt into the River againe, and being anchored went a shoare on the East point of the Entrance, where I found *Shadoo* (the Capt. of *Edistow*, that had been with *Hilton* att *Barbados*, and severall other *Indians* come from the Towne by Land to see for our coming forth), of whome I asked whether this was the River which *Hilton* was in. They told me noe, but itt was the next River. This assured mee that *Jordan* was yett further, and that *Hilton* had noe knowledge of this River and soe could not lay it downe. I demanded the name of this River. They told mee *Edistowe* still, and pointed all to be *Edistowe* quite home to the side of *Jordan*, by which I was instructed that the *Indians* assigne not their names to the Rivers but to the Countryes and people. Amongst these *Indians* was one who used to come with the Southern *Indians* to trade with us att *Charles Towne* in *Clarendon*, and is knowne by the name of *Cassique*. Hee belongeth to the Country of *Kiwaha*, and was very earnest with mee to goe with my Vessell thither, assuring mee a broad deep entrance, and promising a large welcome and plentiful entertainment and trade. I told him I must first goe to *Port Royall*, and that in my retorne I would see his Country; but for his better security hee would needs accompany mee to *Port Royall*, and soe be my pilate (as hee made mee understand) for their River.

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And presently hee sent away his companion to give notice to the cheife *Cassique* of the place of my intention that hee might prepare for my comeing, and himself went on board with mee. That Evening blewe a storme of winde att S.W. (the frequent Somer storm on this Coast) soe violent that (though in the River) I durst not trust to my ordinary roade, but kept my sheet anchor under foot.

With the riseing of the morne I weighed and stood out to Sea, haveing an easie gale at N. E. and a Tide of Ebbe. My Course out lay S. E. between two bankes of shoales lesse then half a mile distant. I chose rather to keepe in the Sounding of the Easterne then of the West Flatts, both because the winde was Easterly and soe I could beare up from them when I would, and alsoe because haveing both in goeing out and comeing in the day before borrowed on the Westerne shoalings. I should by this Easterly Course take knowledge of the whole Channell. I was scarce shott a mile without the Eastermost point of the Entrance but the winde wholly left mee, and the Ebbe (which the flatts on either side makeing soe faire a land, I expected should sett directly out to Sea) did runn with soe strong a Current over the Easterne Sands that att the second heave of my lead I was cast from two fathom into six foot water, and I drewe fine into a rowling Sea on the very edge of a breach. I

had no way but immediately to lett fall one anchor, foe to stay the Veffell from precipitating on her ruine whilst I might carry forth another anchor to warpe her into deepe water. The first was presently downe, but to gett out the fecond, which way to confirme our safety, proved hughesly difficult. We lay in foe tumbling a Sea that our boate could not bee brought to our bowe without danger of staveing. I had but two men with mee entred to Sea labour, and the most spirrited and active part of my Company were Gentlemen but little used to any labour. One of the Seamen must necessarily stay within board to deliver the Anchor and Cable that was to be carryed out. However the danger made every one give his best helpe, and with much adoe the boate is brought to the bowe and the Anchor putt into her, but all our strength could not stemme that tide of Ebbe which had hurried us into the perill, and must therefore be encountred in the way to bring us out, but a storne wee fall against the whole force of our Oares. A fecond attempt is made with doubled strength, but one breakes his Thoales, another his Oare, and nowe cumbred with our owne uslesse number in a boate of scarce equall feize wee became rather weaker then att first, yett wee have no other way left but this to prevent our wreake (Heaven not yeilding us one breath of aide). Therefore to worke wee goe againe and refix our boate, but

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in theise past fruitless performances for much time had beene spent as had given the Ebbing tide a further advantage against us, to the almost perfecting our destruction, for by this time the Veffell by her repeated strokes as it were to rescue herself from those inhospitable sands, gave us warning that her condition was well neere desperate, yett out goes our boate againe, and God mercifully improved our strength to the getting forth an Anchor, though not much further then our Veffell's length, yett for farre as brought us into two fathom water, the banke on which wee had grounded proving steepe to, by reason of which wee the more easily wrought ourselves out of those unkinde embraces, and to the praise of the Almighty Deliverer were snatcht from either an instant descending into the open Gorge of the unfated Ocean, or the more slowe and painfull progresse to our ends in a naked Exposure amongst Nations whose piety it is to be barbarous and Gallantry to be inhumane. This ill entertainment made us brand the place with the name of *Port Perill*. It lyes in the Lat. of 32 d. 25 m. or thereabouts; and may be knowne when you are in the very Entrance by its Easterne point, which is a lowe point of Land bare of trees or other growth save a fewe stragling shrubbs, hence the River goe in N. N.W. and N.W. by N., a small Creeke running in East just within the point. The Coast hence to the Eastward tends

neereft E. by N. with Sandy bayes, and appeares even and bluffe, with trees when you are in the Offing. The Westerne part of the Entrance lyes within as in a deepe bay, and beare from the East point N.N. by W. or W. N.W. about two miles. It is a bare sandy bay, with a few shrubbs next the River and thinn scattering Pine trees. More Southerly the Coast thence Westward tends S. S.W., and all betweene this and *Jordan* shewes with severall hummacks like broken land or Islands when you are off before itt, and especially next to *Port Perill* appears a wide opening as of a River, but it is nothing but bare sandy bayes or Oyfter bankes with lowe Marshes behinde them. *Jordan*, or as wee now call it *Yeamans Harbour* from the name of our Lt.-Generall, opens about two Leagues to the Westward of this between two bluffe lands, from the Westermofst of which the North East end of an Island (which from Capt. *Cary* wee named *Cary Island*) runns out E. S. E. and makes all the Coast between it and *Port Perill* lye in the forme of a deepe bay. All between *Yeamans Harbour* and *Port Perill* are shoales and foule ground, which from the West point of *Port Perill* runne out S. E. before the mouth of *Yeamans Harbour* to almost an even range with the outermofst face of *Cary Island*. From the East point of *Port Perill* a rowe of breakers range themselves parallel with the Westerne shoales, and were the

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fame which had like to have proved foe fatall to us at our comeing out, thence neere a League within *Port Perill* are three distinct groves of trees elevated on pretty high bankes with lowe Marshes in each intervall. They lye neere E. and West, and when you are so farre South and Westerly as that the lowe sandy point off the Entrance wholly disappeares these shewe themselves as though the mouth of the River were betweene two bluffe lands with a round woody Island in the middle of itt. In steering in if you come from the South and Westward, keepe East in three fathom water till you bring this seeming Island to touch the Easterne bluffe, head and then stand in N.W. by N. and N.W. with the head land, rather takeing the Soundings of the Easterne flatt then of the W. if the winde will permitt, and you will have two fathom water little more or lesse all the way in att lowe water. As you come neere in you will discern the Easterne lowe sandy point between you and that bluffe land and the sandy bayes along the Easterne Coast. Steering in with that sandy point and you will deepen and have five fathom water close aboard it.

After we were gott cleare of the Sands, the Ebbe being donne and the Gale springing up, wee made Sayle and stood out to Sea, but wee were not gott farre ere the winde shifted to South East, and the flood sett foe strong into the nar-

rowe bay that wee could neither board it out nor gaine to the Westward of the Shoales which lye before *Yeamans* Harbour foe to runne in there, wherefore I came to an Anchor in three fathom water till the Ebbe at least might helpe us to worke out against the winde. Whilst wee rode here wee espyed to our great rejoyceing the Shallope whome wee left the 19th of June in the night. She was come forth of *Yeamans* Harbour, and stood to and againe before the Southwest Coast, betweene it and *Cary* Island, to shewe herself, not being able to come out to us for the same reason that kept us imbayed. Wee alsoe fired a gunn and putt out our Colours to lett her knowe that wee sawe her, but could not gett to her for the flatts that interposed.

To goe into *Yeamans* Harbour *Hilton's* direction is (and itt seemed true to mee as I lay before itt, though I went not in) to goe in on the West side of the shoalings which are opposite to the mouth thereof and which are contiguous with the flatts of *Port Perill*, giving a ledge of breakers that lye before the Southwest Cape of the Entrance a finale birth, and foe to steere with the North East land of the Entrance, and the least depth he sayes is two fathom at lowe water, and foe upwards to fix or seaven fathom when you come neere under the said Easterne Land. But I have understood since from Ens. *Brayne* that between that ledge of breakers which lye

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before ye Southwest Cape and the end of *Cary* Island is a Channell, which hee affirmes has about three fathom water where shoalest, which alsoe when you are past that ledge of breakers sett over to the North East land of the Harbours mouth. The Ebbe now beginning to make wee weighed and plyed off to Sea with some difficulty, boarding it out of the dangerous and foule bay wherein till about three Leagues from shoare the deepest water wee could finde was scarce three fathom, and in our turning wee generally into a fathom and a halfe on each side, and this though it was high water a place to be attempted with Care when the winde is off as now it is. By night wee were gott cleere of all danger into fix and seaven fathom water. I stood off and on all night, and in the morning found my self off the Sea board side of *Cary* Island. In the middle betweene two openings this Island fills up almost the whole space betweene *Yeamans* Harbour and *Port Royall*. To seaward it makes an even smooth land, pretty bluffe, with trees, and tends South West and North East about three Leagues in length. It shewes two small openings neere equi-distant from either end and from each other. From the Westermost opening att Westward the Coast is bold Five fathom water; within half a league of the shoare more Easterly it is not so deepe.

The morning was Calme, and soe continued till

about two a Clock afternoon, when a fresh gale sprang up att North East, which in a short time opened to us *Woory Bay* and the mouth of *Port Royall*. *Woory Bay*, of Lt. *Woory*, is made by the South Westerly end of *Cary Island* and the Southermost Cape or head land without *Port Royall*, called from the first discoverer *Hilton Head*, which is the farthest land in sight as you come from the North East along by the end of *Cary Island*, whence it beares neereft S.W. and is bluffe, with trees large and tall, which as you approach them seeme to looke their topps in the Sea. *Port Royall* mouth seems opens in the bottome of this bay neereft to the Westerne fide thereof; the opening is wide, little lesse then two leagues, the Westermost land of it running out almost South to *Hilton Head*, and laying in like a halfe bent bowe. Makeing the West fide of *Woory Bay* from the East fide of *Port Royall* the land tends away East Northerly into *Giles Streights* (the passage on the backside of *Cary Island* named soe from Mr. *Thomas Giles*) and formes the bottum of *Woory Bay*. Before this part of the Coast and the end of *Carey Island*, in all the Easterly part of the bay, its shoales and very uneven ground unsafe to meddle with towards the Eastermost angle of it; oposite to the entrance into *Giles Streights*, lyes a Sand Hill pretty high, with some smaller about it, visibler a good distance off in coming from the Westward.

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As you part from *Cary* Island steere away S.W. with *Hilton Head* and you will come thwart the Channell of *Port Royall*, which you will finde by the deepning of your water from five to seaven fathom and upward. It lyes neerer towards the West land, and runns in N.N.W. towards the Easterne land of the Entrance (by us called *Abrahall* Point), having feldom so little as seaven fathom water. All the way in the shoales in the East part of the bay lye poynting out a good way to Sea, therefore it will be safe for shippes of burthen to keepe out till they have brought *Hilton Head* to beare about N. N. E. from them. When I had opened *Woory* Bay sayling S.W. along by the end of *Cary* Island, I had brought the Sand Hills within a Steerne of mee. I luffed into the bay to try the Soundings of that Eastermost part of itt, and after a little while came on the shoalings, and found them soe uneven that it was ordinary to differ two fathom in the heave of a lead. Being therefore satisfiied with ye dangeroufnes of this part of the bay, I bore up againe and stood away with *Hilton Head* crosse some of the shoales till I came to seaven, eight and to about tenn fathom water. Then I steered away with the body of the West land betweene *Hilton Head* and the Entrance of *Port Royall*, and shoale my water by degrees to six fathom (which depth continued a good while) and att length to five and foure fathom and to three

within leffe then a mile of the wood fide. Then I brought my tacks aboard and flood North Easterly to gett into the Channell againe, and after some time deepened my water to five, fix and seaven fathom. I then steered away with the East land of the River within *Abrahall* Point, still deepning my water, till at length the Ebbe being strong and wee makeing fresh way against it with a large winde, I could not for a good space strike ground with my leads. About midnight the third of July I came to an Anchor within the River in seaven fathom water (the least depth I could then finde) a little above the Entrance into *Brayne* Sound, or the passage which goes through to *Yeamans* Harbour, soe called from Ens. *Brayne*, who twice failed itt. I would advise all who enter *Port Royall* to goe in upon the Soundings on the West fide of the Channell till they come a good way within *Hilton Head*, that fide being the evenest ground and freest from all danger. They may keepe in fix and seaven fathom all the way in, and then as they steere more Easterly towards *Abrahall* Point they will finde itt much deeper. It flowes here E. S. E.

The next morning I removed opposite to the principall *Indian* Towne and there anchored before itt, where I had not ridd long ere the *Cassique* himself came aboard mee with a Canoa full of *Indians*, presenting mee with skinns and bidding

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mee welcome after their manner. I went a shoare with him to see their Towne which stood in sight of our Veffell. Found as to the forme of building in every respect like that of *Eddistowe*, with a plaine place before the great round house for their bowling recreation, att th'end of which stood a faire woodden Crosse of the *Spaniards* ereccon. But I could not observe that the *Indians* performed any adoracon before itt. All round the Towne for a great space are severall fields of Maiz of a very large growth. The soyle nothing inferiour to the best we had seen att *Eddistowe*, apparently more loose and light, and the trees in the woods much larger and ranged at a greater distance, all the ground under them burthened exceedingly, and amongst it a great variety of choice pasturage. I sawe here besides the great number of peaches which the more Northerly places doe alsoe abound in, some store of figge trees very large and faire, both fruite and plants, and diverse grape vines which though growing without Culture in the very throng of weedes and bushes were yett filled with bunches of grapes to admiracon. It was noe small rejoyceing to my Company (who began to feare that after *Edistowe* they should see nothing equally to content them) to finde here not only a River so much superiour to all others on the Coast Northward, but alsoe a Country which their fancies though preengaged could scarce

forbeare to preferre even that which but a little before they had concluded peereleffe. The Towne is scited on an Island made by a branch which cometh out of *Brayne* Sound and falleth into *Port Royall* about a mile above where wee landed, a scituacion not extraordinary here, rather the whole Country is nothing else but severall Islands made by the various intervenings of Rivers and Creekes, yett are they firme good Lands (excepting what is Marsh) nor of soe small a piece, but to continue many of them thousands of acres of rich habitable wood land, whose very bankes are washed by River or Creek, which besides the fertillity adde such a Comodioufnesse for portage as few Countreyes are equally happy in.

After a few hours stay to view the land about the Towne, I returned to my Vessell and there found Ens. *Brayne* with his Shallope, come that morning through *Brayne* Sound from *Yeamans* Harbour, att the mouth of which wee had seene him two days before. He told mee that the same morning that I made *Harvey Haven* he came in with the shoare more to the Eastward and layled along it till towards Evening, when hee entred *Yeamans* Harbour supposing it *Port Royall*, and not findeing mee there nor any knowledge of mee, and guessing that I might be more Southerly hee came through to *Port Royall* and acquainted himselfe with *Wommony* the *Cassiques* sone (who had alsoe been att *Barbados*) whome

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hee easly prevailed with to beare him Company from place to place into severall Creeks and branches betweene this and *Yeamans* Harbour, foe becoming both his Guide and proteccon that hee had by this meanes a large leasure and opportunity of veiwing all that part of the Country which hee did foe loudly applaud for land and rivers that my Companies Comendacons of *Eddistowe* could scarce out noife him. Sufficently fatiffyed with this relation (confirmed by those with him) I resolved to loofe noe time in a second searck of that parte, but to goe a tides worke up the maine River and see the body of the Country, and att my retorne to enter a faire Creek on the West shoare opposite to where the Veffell rode, and foe to veiwe that side which *Ens. Brayne* had not medled with, being the more desirous alsoe to trye this Creek because the *Indians* reported that it lead to a great Southerne River which peirceth farre into the Continent, and I suppose may be the *Frenchmans* River *May*, or the *Spaniards* St. *Matthias*. With the Flood therefore and a favorable fresh Gale of winde I sayled up the River in the Shallope neere thirty miles, passed where it divides itselfe into two principall branches, the Westermost of which I went upp, and conceiveing myselfe nowe high enough I landed. Here I found the Ground presently within to rife into a pretty hill, and as I ranged further I crossed severall fine falls and

riseings of land and one brooke of sweete water which rann with a mourmoring course betweene two hills, a rarity towards the sea Coast (to which our former searches had beene confined in which wee had not seene any fresh water but in wells, which inconveinency was not to be borne with were it not to be heaved by the easie sinking of wells every where). The land here was such as made us all conclude not onely a possibility that *Eddistowe* might be, but a certainty that it was exceeded by the Country of *Port Royall*. Being fully tired with our March through a ranke growth of vines, bushes and graff, which every where fettered our leggs and preclained the richnes of the soyle, I retired to my boate, and with the Ebbe towards our Veffell wee passed diverse faire Creekes on each side the River but entred none, haveing not much time to spare, and being satiffyed by the forts of wood wee sawe and the banks that the land was all of like goodneff to what we had already veiwed (only in one place the land seemeing lower then usuall and with a great mixture of pine or rather spruce). I went in there, and after I was somewhat within the woods found it very plashy and water standing everywhere in holes about ankell deepe or deeper, caused as I think by the late raine which had fallen somewhat plentifully, for there appeared noe signe of constant swampishnes (as in the Cipresse swamps more Northerly) nor any-

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thing that might discourage the manureing it. The morning was pretty faire spent ere I came downe to the Veffell againe, wherefore I made hafte and changed my Company and then croffed the River into that Westerne Creeke I fpoke of, which after three or four miles opened into a great found full of Iflands of different fizes Southwards. It went into the Sea by two or three out letts in our fight Westward. We ftill opened newe branches, fome bigger, fome leffe, like thofe wee had already paffed and found to crumble the Continent into Iflands. I fpent the remainder of this day and the beft part of the next in this found, went a shoare on Severall Iflands, found them as good firme land as any wee had feene, exceedingly timbred principally with live Oake and large Cedar and Bay trees then any I had feene before on all the Coaft. In one of them wee entred a pleafant Grove of fpruce, fhadeing a very cleare pasture of fine graffe in which wee rouzed a brave heard of Deere, and thence called it the *Discoverer's Parke*. This Ifland continues fome hundred of acres, and both wood and Marfh, proper for planting, grazeing and for feeding fwine, and all the Iflands of this Sound that were in our veiwe (fome few fnale ones excepted that were onely Marfh) are in all appeareance alike good, proportionable to their biggnes with high bankes richly crowned with timber of the largeft fize. So that of what we fawe in

this Sound onely might be found habitations for thousands of people with conveniencies for their stock of all kinds in such a way of accomodacion as is not comon. And if the Sound goe through to such a great River as the *Indians* talk off (which seems very probable) it will putt in addiconall value upon the Settleme'te that shal be made in it. It abounds besides with Oyfter bankes and such heapes of shells as which noe time cann confume, butt this benefitt it hath but in comon with all the Rivers betweene this and *Harvey Haven*, which are stored with this necessary materiall for lime for many ages, and lying so conveniently that whatever neere River or Creeke you cann thinke fitt to sett a house there you may place your lime kil alfoe and possibly in the banke just by or very neere finde clay for your bricke tile, and the great and frequent foulls of fish wee mett with gives us expectacon of advantage and employment that way alfoe. In sume we could see of nothing here to be wished for but good store of *English* Inhabitants, and that wee all heartily prayed for. I gave my name the Honour of calling this Sound by it, and doe believe that if this place be settled by us, it may hence receive a longer duracon then from any acceffe within the reach of a rationall hope.

Within night I returned to the Veffell, and the next day being the 7th of July I tooke in some fresh water purposing that night to leave *Port*

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Royall and retorne homeward, haveing in the difcovery already made, exceeded all our owne and therfor confident to anfwere all other expectacons, besides each mans proper occafion haftened him, and the Confideration of the Charge of the Veffell hired att five and twenty pounds fterling per month made us earneft not to detaine her a minute of time unneceffarily. Wee alfoe defigned ourfelves fome daies to fee the Country of *Kywaha*, one of whofe Inhabitants remained ftill with us for that only purpofe. But a little before night the *Caffique of Port Royall* came aboard and brought with him a propper young fellowe whome hee made mee to underftand to bee his Sifter's fonne. Hee demanded of mee when I would retorne thither, and fhewing mee the moone asked whether within three times of her compleating her orbe, I told him noe, but in tenn monthes I would. Hee feemed troubled att the length of time and as it were begged me to come in five. But I continued my firft given number. Att length hee gave mee this young fellowe, told mee hee fhould goe and retorne with mee and that I muft clothe him, and then hee asked mee when I would fayle. I told him prefently that night, but hee very much importuned mee to ftay until the next day that hee might prepare mee fome venifon, and made fignes as hee parted that if in the morning hee fhould not fee mee hee fhould Crye, and

foe hee left mee and the *Indian* with mee. I was fomewhat pleased with the adventure, haveing before I came on the Discovery wished that if I liked the Country I might prevaile with the *Indians* to lett one of their Nacon goe with mee, I leaveing an *English* man in their roome for the mutuall learning their language, and to that purpose one of my Company Mr. *Henry Woodward*, a Chirurgeon, had before I fett out affured mee his resolucon to stay with the *Indians* if I should thinke convenient, wherefore I resolved to stay till the morning to see if the *Indians* would remaine constant in this Intencon, according to which I purposed to treat further with them on the morrowe, therefore I went a shoare to their Towne, tooke *Woodward* and the *Indian* with mee and in prefence of all the Inhabitants of the place and of the fellows relacons asked if they approved of his goeing along with mee. They all with one voyce consented. After some pause I called the *Cassique* and another old man (his second in authority) and their wives, and in sight and heareing of the whole Towne delivered *Woodward* into their charge, telling them that when I returned I would require him att their hands. They received him with such high testimonies of Joy and thankfullnes as hughely confirmed to mee their great desire of our friendship and society. The *Cassique* placed *Woodward* by him uppon the Throne, and after lead

him forth and shewed him a large feild of Maiz which hee told him should bee his, then hee brought him the Sister of the *Indian* that I had with mee telling him that shee should tend him and dresse his victualls and be careful of him that foe her Brother might be the better used amongst us. I stayed a while being wondrous civilly treated after their manner, and giving *Woodward* formall possession of the whole Country to hold as Tennant att Will of the right Hono'ble the Lords Proprietors, I returned aboard and immediately weighed and fell downe. An *Indian* that came with mee from *Edistowe* with Intencion to goe no further then *Port Royall* seeing this kindnes and mutuall obligation betweene us and the people of this place, that his Nacon or tribe might bee within the League, voluntarily offered himselfe to stay with mee alfoe, and would not bee denied, and thinking that foe hee should be the more acceptable hee caused himselfe to be shoaren on the Crowne, after ye manner of the *Port Royall Indians*, a fashion which I gueffe they have taken from the *Spanish Fryers*, thereby to ingratiate themselves with that Nacon; and indeed all along I observed a kinde of Emulacon amongst the three principall *Indians* of this Country (vizt.) those of *Kywaha*, *Eddistowe* and *Port Royall* concerning us and our Freindshipp, each contending to affure it to themselves and jealous of the other though all

be allyed, and this notwithstanding that they knewe wee were in actuall warre with the Natives att *Clarendon* and had killed and sent away many of them, ffor they frequently discourfed with us concerning the warre, told us that the Natives were noughts, their land Sandy and barren, their Country sickly, but if wee would come amongst them Wee should finde the Contrary to all their Evills, and never any occasion of discharging our Gunns but in merriment and for pastime.

The 10th of July in the morning I was fayre before ye River that leadeth into the Country of *Kywaha*, but the *Indian* of the place who undertooke to bee my Guide, and stayed all this while with mee for that onely purpose, would not knowe it to be the same, but confidently and constantly affirmed to mee that it was more Easterly, and att length when I was almost neere enough to goe in, with greate assurance and joy hee shewed mee a head land not farre off which hee affirmed the entrance to bee. This confidence of his made mee stand away, but by that time I had fayled some two Leagues. Hee sawe his error when it was too late, for nowe the winde was foe that I could not fetch the River againe, and if it had beene fayre I was sure not to enter it before night, and I did not like the complexion of the Heavens foe well as to trye that night upon the Coast.

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The River lyes in a bay betweene *Harvey Haven* and *Cape St. Romana*, wherein wee found 7 or 8 fathum water very neere the shoare, and not the leaft appearance of shoales or dangers in any part of itt. It shewes with a very faire large opening cleare of any flatts or barreing in ye Entrance onely before the Easterne point wee sawe a breach but not farre out. I perswade myselfe that it leads into an Excellent Country, both from the Comendacon the *Indian* give itt and from what I saw in my ranging on the Easterne part of *Harvey Haven* the next Neighbouring land to this. Wherefore in hopes that it may prove worthy the Dignity I called it the River *Ashley*, from the Right Hon'ble *Anthony Lord Ashley*, and to take away every little remaine of forraigne title to this Province, I blotted out the name of *St. Romane* putt before the next Easterly Cape, and writt *Cape Cartrett* in the roome, to evidence the more reall right of Sr. *George Cartrett*, as hee is a Lord Proprietor of *Carolina*.

The 12th of July about noon I entred *Charles River*, and before darke night landed att *Charles Towne* in the County of *Clarendon*, to the great rejoicing of our friends, who yett received not our persons more gratefully then they did the found Comendacons which they heard from every one of us without one diffonant note of that never enough to be valued Country which wee had

feene and fearcht, in which may be found ample Seats for many thoufands of our Nation in a Sociable and comfortable Vicinity, fecured from any poffible general and from all probable particle Maffacres, with fuch other accomodacons to boote as fcarce any place cann parralell, in a clime perfectly temperate to make the habitacon pleafant, and where fuch a fertile Soyle cannot faile to yeild foe great a variety of Produccons as will not onely give an abfolute felfe fubfiftance to the place without all manner of neceffary forraigne dependance, but alfoe reach a trade to the Kingdome of *England* as great as that fhee has with all her Neighbours, and render our Sovereigne Lord the King within his owne Dominions and the Land poffeffed by his Naturall *Engliſh* ſubjects univerfall Monarch of the Trafique and Comodity of the whole World.

ROBT. SANDFORD.



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FOR a further Confirmacon hereof take this Testimoniall given of this Country by the Principall Gentlemen with mee in this Discovery, who have attested under their hands as much as I have fayd, and yett noe more then what thousands had they beene there would alsoe have affirmed—

Clarendon
in
Carolina—

Wee whose names are hereunto subscribed having accompanied Lt.-Colo'll Robert Sandford in a Voyage of Discovery on the Coast and Rivers of this Province to the Southward and Westward of Cape St. Romane as farre as the River Port Royall, and being all of us persons well experienced in the nature and quallity of the severall Soyles in these Regions, and some of us by means of our Travells throughly acquainted with most part of America, Northerne and Southerne Continent and Islands, doe hereby declare and Testefie to the whole world that the Country which wee did search and see from the River Grandy, nowe Harvey Haven, to Port Royall inclusive, doth for richnes and fertillity of soyle, for Excellency of Rivers, havens, Creekes and founds, for abundance of good Timber of diverse sorts, and many other requisites both to land and Sea building, and for sundry rare accomodacons both for Naviga-

tion and Plantacon Exceed all places that wee knowe in proporcon of our Nacon in the West Indies, and wee doe assure Our selves that a Colony of English here planted, with a moderate support in their Infant tendency, would in a very short time improve themselves to a perfect Common Wealth, Injoying a Self sufficiency of all the principall Neceffaryes to life and abounding with a great variety of Superfluity for the Invitacon of foraigne Commerce and trade, and which for its Scite and produccons would be of more advantage to our Native Country, the Kingdome of England, and to the Grandeur of Our Sovereigne Lord the King, his Crowne, and dignity then any (wee may say all) his other Dominions in America.

And wee doe further avouch that this Country may bee more securely settled and cheaply defended from any the attempts of its native Inhabitants then any of those other places which our Country-men have refined from the Droff of Indian Barbarisme.

In Witneff whereof wee have hereunto sett our hands this 14th of July, 1666.

HENRY BRAYNE.

RICH'D ABRAHALL.

THOMAS GILES.

GEORGE CARY.

SAM'LL HARVEY.

JOSEPH WOORY.

Eight Lords Proprietors, being a fac-simile of a wax impression of the Seal, now in the PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE,
LONDON, ENGLAND, obtained thence through the kindness of Mr. W. Noel Sainsbury,



The imperfect Coat of Arms on the Reverse is that of JOHN, LORD BERKELEY, which is the same as the Coat of Arms of Sir WM. BERKELEY nearly opposite, except for the Baron's Coronet where the wax has been quite broken off. Between the last and Sir George Carteret's Coat of Arms, a piece of wax is broken away but without injuring either.

AUTOGRAPHS OF THE LORDS PROPRIETORS.

Chambers

Ashley

Albemarle

Gloucester

Carteret

John Berkeley

Will Berkeley

Jas. Colleton

A
R E L A T I O N
OF
The Voyage of the Colonists,
Who Sailed from the *Thames*, in August, 1669, *via*
Kinsale, Ireland and *Barbadoes*, visiting
PORT ROYALL,
AND
Finally Settling on *Ashley River*, where they
founded
CHARLES TOWN.

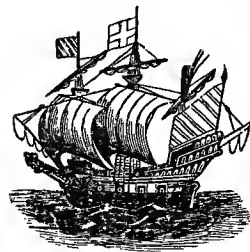
These letters, written by the Colonists, form part of
the *Shaftesbury Papers*.

Now first printed from the original *Shaftesbury Papers*, procured by
the *City Council of Charleston, S. C.* from the Public
Record Office, *London*.



The Voyage of the Colonists.

[T is desired to present, in the following pages, such information, contained in the Shaftesbury Papers on file in the Public Record Office, London, as refers particularly to the *voyage* of an expedition fitted out in August, 1669, by the Lords Proprietors in England, for the purpose of colonizing Carolina.



These papers being addressed chiefly to Lord Ashley and not to the Lords Proprietors as a body, fail to give us a connected narrative of the voyage, but though the information be not as full as could be desired, it is nevertheless important, since it suffices to fix the time and place of departure, the names of those who first cast in their lot, the perils of the voyage and the dangers encountered upon the shore.

88 *The Voyage of the Colonists.*

Any *authentic* information concerning the first settling of the particular locality which we inhabit should always have an interest for us. But when our narrator is in a measure both historian and founder, his text should possess the highest interest for us.

Surrounded as we are to-day by all the refinements of civilized life, our lives, liberty and property well guarded by organized government and we free to seek and enjoy every lawful happiness, there is food for pleasant and profitable reflection in the history of that little band, who, braving every peril to life and property, first planted the seed of this bountiful harvest. The story of their hopes and fears, their joys and sorrows, is best told in their own simple language, so we present it to-day, as they recorded it over two centuries since, slightly abridging in unimportant particulars to keep within the scope of our pages.

THE FLOTILLA.

Joseph West, Commander.

Ship Carolina—

Henry Brayne, Master.

John Comings, Mate.

Richard Dyas, Gunner.

Richard Cole, Carpenter.

Peter Salter, Trumpeter.

Arthur Roper, Boatswain's Mate.

Seamen—John Moore, Thos. Joy, Wm. Orr,
Thos. Sumers, George Gray, Henry Jones, Jas.
Shepherd, John Williamson, Jas. Robertson, John
Ripsett, Alexander John Stone, Henry Ffarro &
Hailes Porter, (Carpenter's Mate.)

Crew, all told, 19 men.—Total monthly wages
£35—15s.

Ship Port Royall—

John Russell, Master.

Robert Chappell, Mate.

Peter Stanford, Boatswain.

Wm. Allan, Carpenter.

Seamen—Tobias Cox, Lewis Carson, Geo.
Ffarro.

Crew all told, 7 men.—Monthly wages £17.

Sloop Albemarle—

Edward Baxter, Master.

Seamen—George Buggy, Jno. Rogers, George
Young & Henry Buck.

Crew all told, 5 men.—Monthly wages £8.

90 *The Voyage of the Colonists.*

<i>Expenditures.</i>	£	s.	d.
Costs of Ship Carolina and her equipment.....	930	17	11
Costs of Ship Port Royall and her equipment.....	199	05	08
Costs of Sloop Albemarle and her equipment.....	82	01	10
Costs of Provisions for the Expedition.....	540	11	08
Costs of Clothes.....	212	04	00
Costs of Stores of War.....	397	15	00
Costs of Tools and Iron-ware.....	188	09	07
Costs of Caske.....	87	00	01
Costs of Fishing Trade.....	28	10	00
Costs of Indian Trade.....	50	18	08
Costs of Charges and Shipping.....	58	04	00
Costs of Chirurgeon's chest and instruments.....	30	08	00
Wages paid.....	76	15	00
Money paid Mr. West at Kinsale...	30	00	00
	<hr/>		
	2913	01	05
Lent Capt. O'Sulivant.....	10	00	00
Paid Mr. West for his paines.....	20	00	00
	<hr/>		
	£2943	01	05

FROM ABOARD THE CAROLINA,
 NOW RIDING IN THE DOWNES,
 August the 10th, 1669.

May it please your Lordship :

This (after begging your Honor's pardon) is
 to give your Lordshipp a perfecte accompte that

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wee are with our shippes now ridinge att an anker in the Downes. And, may itt please your Honor, I hope to your Lordshipp's sattisfaction, I have taken all the care I cann, although very troublesome, to fitt out and make ready with what expedition I possible could all the shippes, now onely by the permission of the Almighty expecting a good winde and being well fitted with and by the leave of God I doe intende to waye and sett to sayle expecting under God a good and prosperous voyadge for Ireland into the port of Kingsale and upon our arivall, from thence your Honor shall receive a more fuller accompt than I att present can give your Lordshipp. I have here enclosed sent your Honor a particular accompt of what passendgers are aboard, first, Masters, and then servants and then those persons that are single and have noe servants, which, with your Lordshipp's pardonn, is all att present from your Lordshipp's most humble and obediente servant,

JOSEPH WEST.

A list of all such Masters, free passengers and servants which are now aboard the *Carolina* now ridinge in the Downes, August the 10th, 1669:

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<i>Masters.</i>	<i>Servants.</i>	<i>Numbers of Names.</i>
Capt. Sullivan,	Ralph Marshall, James Montgomery, Rich. Alexander, Stephen Wheelwright, Tho. Kinge, Eliz. Dimmocke, Eliz. Mathews,	} 8
Step. Bull,	Robert Done, Burnaby Bull, Tho. Ingram, Jonathan Barker, John Larmouth, Dudley Widgier,	} 7
Ed. Hollis and Jos. Dalton,	George Prideox, Thomas Younge, Henry Price, Will Chambers, John Dawson, Will. Roades, Alfrd Harleston, Jane Lawson, Susanna Kinder,	} 11
Tho. Smith, Paule Smith,	Aice Rixe, Jo. Hudlesworth, Jo. Burroughs, Hugh Wiglestone, Eliz. Smith, Andrew Boorne, Francis Noone,	} 9



Anth: Ashley Cooper
EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.

As Wley

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<i>Masters.</i>	<i>Servants.</i>	<i>Numbers of Names.</i>
Hambleton.	Tho. Gourden, Will. Lumsden, Jo. Frizen, Step. Flinte, Edw. Young, Jo. Thomson, Samuell Morris, Tho. Southell, Agnis Payne, Jo. Reed,	} 10
Jo. Rivers,	Tho. Poole, Rob. Williams, Henry Burgen, Math. Smallwood,	} 5
Nich. Cartwright,	Tho. Gubbs, Jo. Loyde, Martin Bedson, Step. Price, Will. Jenkins,	} 6
Morris Mathews,	Abra. Phillips, Reighnold Barefoot, Mathew Hewitt, Eliz. Currle,	} 5
Will Bowman,	Abraham Smith, Millicent Howe,	} 3
Dr. Will. Scrivener,	Margarett Tudor,	2
Will Owens,	John Humfreys, Christopher Swade, John Borley,	} 4

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<i>Masters.</i>	<i>Servants.</i>	<i>Number of Names.</i>
Tho. Middleton, Eliz. uxor ejus,	Rich. Wright, Tho. Wormes,	} 4
Samuell West,	Andrew Searle, Will. West,	} 3
Joseph Bailey,	John Carmichael,	2

Passengers that have noe servants:

Mr. Tho. Rideall.
Mr. Will. Haughton.
Mr. Will. Hennis.
Mr. Tho. Humfreys.
Eliz. Humfreys.
Marie Clerke.
Sampson Darkenwell.
Nathanyell Darkenwell.
Mrs. Sarah Erpe.
Eliz. Erpe.
Martha Powell.
Mrs. Mary Erpe.
Thomas Motteshed.

Totall number now aboard is - - - - - 92.

FFROM YE DOWNES THIS 17th of Aug't, 1669.

Right Hono'ble:

I have (herein inclosed) sent yo'r Lordship an inventory of all the apurtinances belonging to ye *Carolina* ffriggott, and also a list of all the seamen's names that doe belong unto herselfe,

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the *Port Royall* and the *Albemarle*, w'th their distinct salleries. My L'd, (our shipp having been stayed here by the comon inconveniences incident to shipp's outward bound,) our provision is far spent (considering our voiage), for although six are put to foure men's allowance, we have not above ten or twelve dayes beare left; therefore I beseech yo'r Lo'ship to consider our want when wee come to Ireland, where we are to take in a great number of passingers. God has been pleased this morne to send us a faire wind, and our shipp's are just now come to saile. I hope the Lord will make our voiage and designs prosperous.

Yo'r Lordships most humble

HENRY BRAYNE.

*To the Right Hono'ble ANTHONY, Lord Ashley,
at Exetr House, in the Strand, London.*

KINSALE, 31st August, 1669.

Right Honorable:

I have received your Lordship's of the 16th of July laft, joyned with Sir George Cartrott, to procure some serv'ts in these parts to serve your Lordshipps, and particularly at Port Royall, in the Province of Carolina, and shewing the conditions to bee allowed them at the end of their service, which I did fully enlarge and explaine to all the persons that I thought fitt to take

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notice thereof and consulted with all such as I thought intelligent in these affairs to advise me how to rayse such servants, but hitherto I could not obtayne any, for the thing at present seems new and foreigne to them, and withall they had been terrified with the ill-practice of them to the Caribda Islands, where they were sold as slaves, that as yet they will hardly give credence to any other usage; and withal they are loathe to leave the smoke of their owne cabin, if they can but beg near it; but indeed the chief obstacle that I observe at present is the many buildings repaying and contrivances that are in all the towns in this country since the settlm't of the 49 interests, which has made work for those who will serve, and again it is harvest time when they may earn or steal a sheaf, but that is near over.

The last night arrived your Lordship's shipp *Carolina*, friggott, Joseph West, Commander, and Mr. Florence Solovane, by whom I received your Lordship's letter of the 27th July. The daie before came in the *Albemarle*, the *Port Royall* not being yet arrived. I have upon receipt of your Lordship's second letter used all indeavors and have proferred unto those present a very intelligent person in those affaires, newly landed out of England, and is very well informed and satisfi'd in the designe and they have sent him into the country where he is confident he

shall prevail with some, and now that your ships are here where they may have great entertainment and passage, they will be much the easier persuaded, and I doubt not but some will be got before the ships part; and I know most of the people of this country will give some credit to me in the worth and advantage of this designe because they know I never had anything to doe with the West India trade, but have ransomed many of them that have been snatched up and privately conveyed on board the ships bound that way.

My Lord, I humbly beseech you to believe that whensoever it lyes in my power I shall most affectionately and faithfully serve your Lordships and all those most honorable partners concerned, and am rejoyced to see and observe such honorable undertaking and wish with all my heart all prosperity and success unto them. And thus with my most humble service unto your Lordships, My most honored my Lord Duke of Albemarle and the rest of those honorable Lords and persons concerned in these affaires, I humbly take leave and remain,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most faithful,
and humble servant,
ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

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KINGE SAYLE September the 10th 1669

May it please yo'r Lo'pp

This is to give yo'r honor an account that wee wth our 3 shippes have binn heere 12 dayes, the winde beinge now come upp fayer, I doe intende God willinge to set to sayle and quitt this Harbor, for (if itt may please yo'r Lo'pp) I cleerly find yo'r honors expectacons will nott be any wayes answered heere in gettinge of f'rvents and wee have lost a brave winde by cominge heere for wee by the assistance of the Sorvaigne heere and other gents have used all indeavors but all to noe other ende or purpose than losse of tyme and expence of moneys, for I am nott assured of a mann that will goe from hence. May itt please yo'r Lo'pp heere is some gents that are nott in the waye Mr. Boweman and others butt I hope that they will bee aboard before wee sayle, there is one Mr. Reade a deputy or steward to Major Hambleton that is cleerely runn away butt nott wth' out some advantage to yo'r Honor for he hath left 9 Servants aboard, butt there is one Humfreys that yo'r Lo'pp putt upon the designe that is runn away w'th his wife and childe and hath like a rascally knave reported very high and scandalous words against the Proprietor's although he had noe reason for itt beinge well used and provided for. May itt please yo'r Honor I have reced 30£ by S'r

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George Cartwrights order and have layed itt out
in provifions and neceffarys for our voyadge
and foe foone as I come to Barbadoes yo'r Honor
fhall receive a pticular Account of the difburfe-
m'ts from

Yo'r Honors Mofte humble and obedient
S'rvant

JOSEPH WEST

*Thefe for the Right Ho'ble the Lorde Afhley att
his Houfe neere Exeter Houfe in the Strand
London.*

Post paid 4d

KINGE SAYLE September the 17 1669

May it please yo'r Honor

This is to give yo'r Lo'pp an account that
upon my dep'tinge this Harbor w'ch I gave yo'r
Honor an account of in my laft l'tre the winde
imeadyatly veared about againft us and hath
hitherto deteyned mee heere, but w'th the firft
oportunity of winde I will, God willinge, quitt
this place, hopeinge for a good and prosperous
voyadge to the Barbadoes. May itt please yo'r
Lo'pp I have reced a 'tre from Mr. Blany w'th 2
Billf inclofed from S'r Roberte Southwell for
30 £ charged upon Mr. Southwell his father in
King Sayle w'ch I have nott as yett paffed,
neither doe I intende to paffe them except
neceffity enforces mee by a longe ftay here for

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want of a winde I beinge already fuplyed w'th
30£ by S'r George Carterites order w'ch in my
laft 'tre to yo'r Lo'pp I menconed (which w'th
firft begginge yo'r Honors p'don is all att pr'sente
from

Yo'r Honor's Most humble obedient
S'rvant

JOSEPH WEST

*These for the Right Hon'ble the Lorde Ashley at
his House neere Exeter House in the Strande
London*

BARBADOES November the 8th 1669

May itt please yo'r Honor

These are to informe yo'r Lo'pp of our beinge
att Barbadoes where wee shall stay untill the
23d instant; and then hopinge to quitt this Islande
for our desired Port; the People here seemingly
fhow a great inclinacon for Porte Royall. S'r
John Yeamans beinge resolved to goe down doth
give good encouradgm't and wee hope to make
our complem't up 200 pr'fons: The Albemarle
Sloope w'ch wee loft 3 dayes after wee quitted
Ireland arrived safe heere 3 dayes after us and
ye 2d instant in the morninge itt blew hard and
the floops cables broake and fhee ashoare upon
ye Rocks and is loft. S'r John Yeamans and
Efq'r Colleton are about buyinge of or hieringe
of another floope and alfoe another vessell that

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will cary downe 60 or 70 people. We have had very bad weather att Barbadoes and ware in much dainger w'th our shipp for one of our cables broake ; And the Port Royall hath lost a cable and anker. Our dependance and principle hopes are beinge yo'r Honor w'th the Rest of the Right Ho'bles havinge binn pleased fo hono'bly to sett us forth w'ch is the life of our designe and yo'r Honors ffame, nott to lett us fade in our infancy butt bee pleased to fend us a supply in the Springe w'ch from yo'r Honor wil bee received w'th great joye and much fortifye us against ruin for although I have used all diligent care imadginable, yett our stores are eaten very deepe into and wee shall nott have att our landinge above 3 months' provifions. Since wee arived heere, to save provifions, Esqr. Colleton hath taken 20tie servants into Sr. Peeter's plantacon, and Major Kingsland hath taken some, they beinge now allmoste all ashoare. May it please yo'r Honor, those f'rv'ts w'ch did belonge to Major Hambleton I have and doe order them as for yo'r Honor's use, by reason they are left w'thout a Master, for their Steward quitted the shipp and overrun them in Ireland, and I doe intende to keepe them untill I receive from yo'r Honor farther orders. I doe hope before wee quitt Barbadoes to make yo'r number of servants upp w'th them. May itt please yo'r Honor, I have here inclosed sent yo'r Lo'pp a copy of the

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Propofalls w'ch are publifhed heere for the
People's encouradgm't and knowledge, w'ch is
all the informacon at pr'fent that can bee given
by Yo'r Honor's Moſte Humble and

Obediente S'rvante,

JOSEPH WEST.

Theſe for the Right Ho'ble the Lorde ASHLEY
COOPER, *att Little Exeter Houſe, in the Strande,*
London.

JO. DOREL AND HUGH WENTWORTH TO
LORD ASHLEY.

SOMERS ISLAND, Feb. 17, '69-70.

Right Hono'ble:

Your ſhippe *Carolina* being forced from her
intended port into one of our harbours, it begott
an acquaintance betwixt me and a ſervant of
yours, one Captain O. Sullivan, which is gone
your Surveyor Generall. He having acquainted
me with your deſigne of fettling Carolina and
deſire of promoting new plantations cauſed me
to preſume upon your Honour's favour and to
trouble you with the perufall of theſe lines, which
may acquaint your Honour that our Iſland of
Barmudoes being over-peopled and the natives
thereof much ſtraitned for want of land, being
now yearly able to ſpare a hundred inhabitants
for the ſettlement of new plantations, and many
people haveing gone from this Iſland to settle

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Santalucca, Trinidadoe, Antegro and Jamaica have most part of them dyed, but about three or four years since some of our people have gone for the Bahama Islands and costing amongst them for Spanish wracke and ambregriffe, which sometimes they found, at last they settled on an Island which at first they named Sayles Island, but when more of our people went to settle they named it New Providence, for the generallity of our people that went they were soe poore that they were not able to transport themselves. But myselfe and one Mr. Hugh Wentworth, an inhabitant here, did get two shippes and have transported most part of the inhabitants upon the accompt of credit, giving of them time for their payment till they can rayse it of the plantation by their labour. There is about 3 hundred inhabitants upon it, myselfe having settled a plantation there with eight people on it, 3 negroes and five English. The island lyeth in the latitude of 25 degrees and a halfe and is very healthfull and pleasant accommodated with gallant harbouring for shipping. Some part of the island good land some part of it wast land. The people there have now noe want of provisions and our natives here most inclinable to settle there by reason the island is soe healthfull. It produceth as good cotten as ever grew in America and gallant tobacco. They have made but little as yet. There greatest want at present

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is small armes and ammunition, a Godly minifter and a good smith. If the Spaniard become your enemy at Carolina, he will come through the Gulf with his shippes and harbour them at New Providence and stay there for a Southeast wind, which for the most part bloweth there and in three days' time will be in the river of Port Royall on the back of your people, and it is the nearest place for neighbourhood of any plantation in America and should your Lordship engage us here to accommodate your people with live cattle or necessaries from hence with our shipping that island would be a refuge to us, for if the winds hold Westwardly or Northwardly that we could not recover Port Royall, then we could stand Southwardly and gaine that island for a recruite and need not stay long there for a winde to carry us to Port Royall. My humble request and suite to your Honours is that you would patronise our poore inhabitants of New Providence by gaineing a patent for New Providence and the rest of the Bahama islands, that the poore people may have protection there and be governed according to His Majesty's Laws and enjoy such priviledges for their encouragement of a better settlement as other colonies and plantations hath, and that your Honour will be pleased to have a remembrance therein for them. We have been the first beginners and encouragers of the settlement of New Providence

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and shall be ready to serve your Honour or your
commands, and subscribe ourselves,

Your Honour's most humble servants

JOHN DORRELL senior

HUGH WENTWORTH

17 Feb. 69-70.

NANSAMUND RIVER IN VIRGINIA,

April 28th, 1670.

Honored Sir

These by Capt. Covell with the goods according to invoice and bill of lading are received. About the time of that shipp's arrival Mr. Burgh died leaving his wiffe executrix, who sent for the goods and about that time they came down from the shipp to here she also died, leaving all that concerned her and her husbands business in trust with us. The goods you sent are not yett opened nor will not be till we hear further from Port Royall, being in dayly expectation of some ship from there and upon the arrivall whereof we shall comply with your orders in buying hoggs, cattle and what else is desired by those that shall come for it. In which we shall pursue your instructions and endeavour the best we can for your advantage as well in sale of goods as in buying with it, what you would have to be bought for the service of that designe, as also in the despatch of such shipp's or vessels as is or shall be employed upon that account. Sir John

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Yeamans we heard was att Barmudas and from thence returned home to Barbados, after he had sent away Capt. Saile Governor to Port Royall. A sloop which came out with them from Barbados was here in January, John Baulte Master, being forced hither by bad weather with about thirty people, some of which were putt off here to procure food for the rest, which having done he failed away from here about the beginning of February.

We have had no more at present but to subscribe ourselves

Your Honors Servants

RI. BENNETT

THO. GODWIN

The Sloupe which we had at Barbadoes and parted w'th at sea did arrive at Keyawah on Munday ye 23d of May: 1670, an acc't of whose voyage from St. Katherina and passages there I thought fit to send yo'r Hon'r as I had it from Mr. Maurice Mathews who was in her.

Mr. Mathews "relacon" of St. Katherina:

On Saturday May ye 15th we came to an anchor in St. Katherina, a place about ye Latt. of 31 degrees, where wee intended to wood and watter. The Indians very freely came aboard whom wee entertained from this day to ye 18, they traded with us for beads and old clothes, and gave our

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people bread of Indian corne, peas, leakes, onyons, deare skins, hens, earthen pots etc. Upon ye 16 day came aboard an Indian, semi-Spaniard, w'th a pr'sent of bread etc., to our Master, and promised him Porke for truck. Severall of our people had been juft at their houses and told us of brave plantations with a 100 working Indians and that they want nothing in the world. Our Master upon ye 17 instant, about 8 in ye morning with his mate and Mr. Rivers, three seamen and one man servant which had been their juft before, went ashore with truck to buy porke for ye floupes use, their were two men servants more which went ashore ag't ye floupe to cut wood etc and one woman with a girle to wash some Linnien at ye wattering place, our Master promised to be aboard next tyde, but he came not. We hollowed to them right ashore about 4 of ye clocke but they made no answere. This raised a doubtfull feare in us. That night we kept a strickt watch and next day about 10 of ye clocke we heard a drume, and pr'sently saw 4 Spaniards armed with muskets and fwords—with ye drume came downe one of these and standing behind a tree holding forth a white cloath hailed us and bid us yield and submit to ye soveraignty of S'to Domingo and told us it were better for o'r Cap't was in chaines. I holding up a white shirt told him, if we should have our people, we would depart in

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peace, but he cryed No, No, and giveing ye word to some in ye wood, Indians and Spaniards, wee received a volley of Musket shott and a cloud of arrows which ye Indians shott upright, and soe they continued for an houre and a half, then they left of, and commanded three of us ashore. We told them we would fend one with Letters to them, and sent them a boy ashore, who swimed with a note to ye Master and another to ye fryer, ye note to the fryer treated of free passage with all our people. Ye boy they received courteously, cloathing him at ye watter side with deare skins etc. A little after, they bid us not use any armes, and they would ye like. And bid us expect an answer to o'r letter. We were glad of this and agreed, but about half an houre after, they commanded shippe and all ashore. We told them we had neither winde nor boat to obey them (not a breath of winde stirring) and gave them faire words, intending with ye first winde to gett without shott, but they fired and shott at us feirecely, then a finall breeze arising of ye lande and we with much adoe having weighed o'r small bower and cut o'r best, hoisted sayle and away, and came to an anchor out of their reach; but before this, I being at ye helme, John Hanks (one of ye seamen) shott at them, which made all keep behind trees. We hauling out three muskets had not a bullet, till at last we found severall upon ye deck,



John Locke

"ABSOLUTE LIBERTY, JUST AND TRUE LIBERTY, EQUAL AND IMPARTIAL LIBERTY."

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ARTOTYPE, E. BIERSTADT, N. Y.

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which re-shooting did a little help us, as we stood to our sailes; but they fired still, but by God's mercy hit nobody, but our sailes were much damaged. Ye next day about noone we hoisted and away, turneing it out they still keeping watch on the shoare. Saturday May ye 19th we sailed about ye shoare with ye winde at South, this night we came to anchor in two fathoms and a halfe watter. Ye next morning we weighed anchor and steered alongst shoare, about 10 of ye clocke we made a cannew coming of ye shoare towards us, which proved to be of 4 Indians, they with signes of friendship came aboard. We entertained them courteously. They told us the place right ashoare from thence was Odiftash and as we understood them, told us there were English at Keyawah. They further told us of a Cap't Sheedon, and made signs that he would speak with us, upon this we detained ye chiefeft of them and sent one ashoare to that pr'sone they spake of, with a letter to desire him to come aboard without much company. Ye three Indians that went with our messenger ashoare promised to returne after sun set. About twilight they returned with our messenger and Cap't Sheedon and one Capt. Alush (who were at Barbadoes) and many more. This Sheedon told us that ye English with two shippes had been at Port Royall and were now at Keyawah, he further promised us on ye morrow to carry us

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thither. About 9 of ye clock came another cannowe, but we sent them after a little stay away, being all too numerous. Ye next morning we came to faile for Keyawah where we found ye Barmudian Sloupe going out a fishing, who piloted us into Keyawah river.

MR. CARTERET'S RELATION OF THEIR PLANTING AT ASHLEY RIVER '70.

Barmuda, Febr'y 26th, sayling from thence we came up with ye land betweene Cape Romana and Port Royall, and in 17 days ye weather being faire and ye winde not friendly ye Longe boate went ashoare ye better to informe as to ye certainty of ye place where we supposed we were. Upon its approach to ye land few were ye natives who upon ye strand made fires and came towards us whooping in their own tone and manner, making signes also where we should best land, and when we came ashoare they stroaked us on ye shoulders with their hands, saying Bony Conraro Angles, knowing us to be English by our collours (as we supposed). We then gave them braff rings and tobacco, at which they seemed well pleased, and into ye boate after halfe an houre spent with ye Indians we betooke ourselves. They liked our company soe well that they would have come aboard with us. We found a pretty handsome

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channell about 3 fathoms and a halfe from ye place we landed to ye shippe, through which the next day we brought ye shipp to anchor feareing a contrary winde and to gett in for some fresh watter. A day or two after ye Governor whom we tooke in at Barmuda with several others went ashore to view ye Land here, some 3 Leagues distant from the shipp, carrying along with us one of ye eldest Indians who accosted us on ye other day, and as we drew to ye shore a good number of Indians appeared, clad with deare skins, having with them their bows and arrows, but our Indian calling out Appada they withdrew and lodged their bows and returning ran up to ye middle in mire and watter to carry us ashore, where when we came they gave us ye stroaking complim't of ye country and brought deare skins, some raw, some drest, to trade with us, for which we gave them knives, beads and tobacco and glad they were of ye Market. By and by came their women clad in their Mofse robes, bringing their potts to boyle a kinde of thickening which they pound and make food of, and as they order it being dryed makes a pretty sort of bread. They brought also plenty of Hickery nutts, a wallnut in shape and taste, onely differing in ye thickness of the shell and smallness of ye kernell. The Governor and severall others walking a little distance from ye watter side came to ye Hutt

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Pallace of his Ma'ty of ye place, who meeteing us tooke ye Governor on his shoulders and carryed him into ye house in token of his chearfull entertainment. Here we had nutts and root cakes, such as their women useily make, as before, and watter to drink for they use no other lickquor as I can learne in this countrey. While we were here, his Ma'tye's three daughters entered the Pallace all in new roabs of new mosse, which they are never beholding to ye taylor to trim up, with plenty of beads of divers collours about their necks. I could not imagine that ye savages would so well deport themselves, who coming in according to their age and all to salute the strangers, stroaking of them. These Indians understanding our bufiness to St. Hellena told us that ye Westoes, a ranging fort of people reputed to be the Mandatoes, had ruined yt place, killed feverall of those Indians, destroyed and burnt their habitations and that they had come as far as Keyawah doing the like there, ye Caffeeke of which place was within one fleep of us (which is 24 hours for they reckon after that rate) with most of his people whome in two days after came aboard of us.

Leaveing that place, which is called Sowe, carrying ye Caffeeke of Kayawah with us, a very ingenius Indian and a great linguist in this maine, ye winde being very lofty foe that we could not deale with ye shoare, we drove to the Southward

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of Port Royall, where we made a faire opening and findeing by observation and otherwayes ye contrary, we stood five minutes to ye Northward and soe gott ye shipp into Port Royal river (the opening there appeared not to us as Colo'n Sanford did relate) ag't which shoales ley of about five leagues to sea. W. N. W. Hilton head boare from us when we steared in, and in steering in W. N. W. and N. W. b. W. we had $2\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms at low water with breakers on both sides. But when your are within you have 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 fathoms water and a clear river. I cannot say much of the channel, being but a Landman, but this, ye Governor, Capt. Brayne and myself took ye Longe boate to goe upon discovery and stood of to sea about 5: or 6: miles clofe aboard the Northwardmost Breakers. We had no lesse than 5 fathoms at low water ye tyde being spent and the winde proving calm we were forst to make in for ye shoare with ye tyde of flood. Leaveing this to Capt. Brayne, who will give you a more p'fect acct. than I can. A small kinde of whale, white about ye head and jowle is very plenty in in this river. In two hours' time I beheld about 10 or 11 of ye kinde, and some pr'tend and undertake to say to be of ye sperm kinde, that were worth ye experim't to find out ye truth of it. We were two dayes at anchor ere we could speake with an Indian. When we did, they confirmed what heard at Sowee. We weighed from

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Port Royall river and ran in between St. Hellena and Combohe, where we lay at anchor. All ye time we staide neare ye place where ye distressed Indian sojourned, who were glad and crying Hiddy doddy Comorado Angles Westoe Skorrye (which is as much as to say) English very good friends, Westoes are nought. They hoped by our arrival to be protected from ye Westoes. Often making signs they would engage them with their bowes and arrows, and wee should with our guns. They often brought us veneson and some deare skins w'ch wee bought of them for beads. Many of us went ashore at St. Hellena and brought back word that ye land was good land supplied with many Peach trees and a competence of timber, a few figg trees and some cedar here and there and that there was a mile and a half of cleare land fitt and ready to plant. Oysters in great plenty, all ye islands being rounded with banks of ye kinde, in shape longer and scarcely see any one round, yet good fish though not altogether of soe pleasant taste as yo'r Wallfleet oysters. Here is alsoe wilde Turke which ye Indian brought but is not soe pleasant to eate of as ye tame, but very fleshy and farr bigger. Ye sloupe w'ch wee have with us, bought at Barmuda, was dispatcht to Kayawah to viewe that land soe much comended by the Caffeeke, brings back a report y't y't lande was more fit to plant in than St.

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Hellena which begott a question, whether to remove from St. Hellena theither or stay. Some were of opinion it were more prudent forthwith to plant provifions where they were, than betake themselves to a fecond voyage, though small, it would not prove a better change, ye enterance into that harbour being as difficult as ye other. The Governor adhearing for Kayawah and most of us being of a temper to follow though wee knew no reason for it, imitating ye rule of ye inconfiderate multitude cryed out for Kayawah, yet fome diffented from it yet being fure to take a new voyage but difident of a better convenience, thofe that inclyned for Port Royall were looked upon ftraingely, fo thus we came to Kayawah. The land here and at St. Hell'a is much at one, ye furface of the earth is a light blackifh mould, under that is whiter and about 3 or 4 feet is a clay fome read w'th blew vaines and fome blew w'th read vaines, foe is all ye land I have feen.

FFROM ALBEMARLE POINT
IN ASHLEY RIVER, June 25th, 1670.

Much Hono'rd and Noble Lord:

I hope y'or Lord'fp hath rec'd an acco't (long before this tyme) of God's providences and dealings with yo'r fervant and colony here in Carolina from my felfe, Mr. Weft &c. Though we

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are (att pr'sent) under some straight for want of provision (incident to the best of new plantations) yet we doubt not (through the goodneff of God) of recruits from fundry places to w'ch we have sent. But there is one thing w'ch lyes very heavy upon us, the want of a Godly and orthodox Minist'r, w'ch I and many others of us have ever lived under, as the greateft of o'r mercyes. May it please yo'r Lords'p, in my late country of Barmudas, there are divers Minist'rs of whom there is one, Mr. Sampson Bond, heretofore of long standing in Exeter Colledge in Oxford and ordayned by the late Byshop of Exeter, the old Do'r Joseph Hall, and by a commiffion from the Earle of Manchester and company for the Sumer Islands, sent there in the yeere 1662, for the term of three yeers, under whose powerfull and fowl edefying ministry I have lived about eight yeeres last past. There was nothing in all this world foe grievous to my spirit, as the thought of parting with his Godly society and faythfull ministry. But I did a little comfort myfelfe, that it might please ye Lord by some good meanes or other to enclyne his heart to come after us, who hath little respect from some who are now in authority in Barmudas, w'ch is a great discourag'mt to him, w'ch is taken notice off in other places, and he is invited to Boston in New England and to New Yorke by the Governor there, with tenders of large encourage-

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ment, if he will come to ye one or other place. I have likewise writt most earnestly to him desiring that he would come and fitt downe with us, assuring him it is not only my urgent request but with all the most hearty request of ye Colony in generall, who were exceedingly affected with him and his ministry all the tyme they were in Barmudas. And we shall all have assured cause to bleff God for him, so long as we shall live, might he be gained to be our settled minist'r. Sir John Yeamans was soe much affected with him, that he promised me he would procure a commission from the King to make him our minist'r, and to the uttmost, endeavor to procure him a considerable sallary for his incouragem't. But I can heare of nothing done by him herein, w'ch hath imboldened me (in the name of all ye rest) most humbly to beseech yo'r Lord'sp to put on bowells of great goodneff and compassion towards yo'r Colony here in procuring (w'ch yo'r Lord'sp may easily and speedly doe) a commission and competent sallary for him for about five or seven years (till the Lord shall enable us to mayntayne him ourselves) to be paid to him or his assignes in London, Barbadoes or elfewhere. I doe most faythfully assure yo'r Lord'sp that this Mr. Bond is so well known, well reported off and so beloved in most the Carabee Islands, that were it known abroad that he were yo'r Minist'r here, it is the judg'mt of fundry prudent

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perſons, it would (in a little tyme) gaine many hundreds of conſiderable perſons to this place. Oh that it might not be deemed too much boldneſſ in me to beſeech yo'r Lordſp with ye deſired commiſſion to honor him with yo'r lett'r w'ch if it be ſent to yo'r Comiſſio'r att Barbadoes it will ſoon be diſpatcht to him. I ſhall not (att pr'eſent) give yo'r Lordſp any further trouble, takeing my leave with my fixed purpoſes to the uttmoſt during life to further this yo'r Lordſps (hytherto) bleſſed deſigne, ever praying for an increaſe of thoſe yo'r Manifeſt favors of all kinds and degrees of eminent giftſ and graces from God and likewise for an increaſe of yo'r moſt deſerved Honor and noble dignities from his ſacred Majeſty. Reſteth yo'r Lordſp in all humility and ffaythefullneſſ to Honor, obey &c.

WILLIAM SAYLE

*For the Right Honorable Anthony Lord Aſhley
att little Exeter Houſe in the Strand, London.*

ALBEMARLE POYNT AT KYAWAW,
June ye 27th, 1670.

May it Please Yo'r Lo'p:

In my laſt to yo'r Lo'p, dated ye 28th of May, I gave yo'r Lo'p an account by the way of Virginia of our proceedings in Carolina, and how we came to quitt Port Royall and to begin our ſettlement at Kyawaw. May it please yo'r Lo'p,

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since the departure of the ship for Virginia, wee sent the Shallop back againe to St. Katherina with 2 letters, one for the Governour of St. Augustines, the other for ye ffryer at St. Katherina, to demand the men y't were detained there by the Spaniards, (yo'r Lo'p's kinsman, Mr. Rivers, being one of them,) and when ye Shallop came thither 2 or 3 of our people went ashoare contrary to orders, without hostage and the ffryer rec'ed them seemingly w'th much kindneff and told them upon his ffaith they should not be wronged. Whereupon there was 4 of our men went to his house, where he treated them very civilly and told them y't our men were at St. Augustines, not as prisoners, but had their liberty about the town and were entertained at an English man's house; but when our men were taking their leave of the ffryer he, betweene a complement and constraint, detained 2 of them, upon pretence that hee could not lett them goe till hee had an answer from St. Augustines. Whereupon after 3 days stay our men in the Shallop being informed by the Indians that there were 3 ships at St. Augustines w'ch would come to surprize the Shallop, were forced to weigh anchor for their security and come for Kyawaw, leaving those two men more behind at the ffryer's house. Now yo'r more Lo'p may please to know that wee are forced to send the Barbadoes Shallop to Bermuda for a supply of provisions, for feare the

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ship should miscarry at Virginia, for we have but 7 weekes provision left and y't onely pease at a pint a day a man, the country affording us nothing. w'ch makes it goe very hard with us, and wee cannot employ our servants as wee would because we have not victualls for them. Our corne, potatoes and other things doe thrive very well of late, praised be God, but wee cannot have any dependance on it this yeare, but if we have kindly supplys now, wee doe not question but to provide for ourselves ye next yeare, and y't it will prove a very good settlement and answer yo'r Lo'p's expectacon, w'ch is ye desire of

Yo'r Lo'p's

Most humble and faithfull serv't,

JOSEPH WEST.

*For the Right Hono'ble ANTHONY LORD ASHLEY, at
Little Exeter House, in the Strand, London.*

ALBEMARLE POINT, Sep'r 9th, 1670.

May it Please Yo'r Honors:

In observance of our dutyes wee shall not omitt any opportunity of giving yo'r Honors a faithfull acc't of all our proceedings in this place. Pursuant thereunto wee here doe offer to yo'r Honors, that for some time since the dispatch of the *Carolina* from this place to Virginia and the sloop to Bermuda to bring provisions and other supplies that yo'r Honors' care

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had intended for us, wee have been put to purchase our maintenance from the Indians, and y't in such small parcells, as we could hardly get another supply before the former was gone, in which time of our so great exigencies, the Spaniard not being ignorant of it, sent out a party of their Indians ag't us, as we received intelligence from the Indians y't are our friends, who lay for some time in a place called Stonoe neare our river's mouth untill the *Carolina* friggot arrived here, w'ch was the 22th of Aug't last, in w'ch time we receiv'd severall allarums though they never yet came soe far as to action, more than when Mr. Henry Braine came upon the coast and went ashore in his long boat, thinking to meet with our owne Indians being soe neare the River's mouth. They fired upon him and his company with small shott, notwithstanding y't the s'd Indians had shewed them a white flagg. But before y't time we had put ourselves in a reasonable good posture of receiveing them though they had come much in odds, having mounted our great guns and fortified ourselves as well as time and the abilityes of our people would give leave, and moved good courage in our people, besides the assistance of some Indians y't were our friends.

After the shippes arrived we sent out a p'ty of our Indians with two of our own people to discover their camp, but when they expected to

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come upon them the Spanish Indians were retreated back againe, as our Indians informe us, at the noise of our great gunns, but whether there were any Spaniards among them we cannot yet receive certaine intelligence, other than one, who according to our Indians' description we judge to be a ffryer. Neither can we as yet know the number of Indians that lay ag't us, they exceeding the number of an Indian's acc't.

The *Carolina's* safe arrivall has very much encouraged our people. The more for y't she has brought us provisions of Indian corne, pease and meale for eight months, foe as wee make noe question but (by God's assistance) thoroughly to defend and maintain yo'r Honors' interests and our rights in this place till wee receive a further aid, which wee very much stand need of. Y't soe plantations may be managed and yo'r Honors finde what wee indeavour to p'fuade, that this country will not deceive yo'r Honors' and others' expectacons. For which purpose wee have dispatched the *Carolina* to Barbadoes, where wee understand are a considerable number of people ready to be shipped for this place, y't she may make a returne before winter, w'ch will conduce much to the safety of this place and the ease of our people, y't have been too much overpreft with watching already, and what wee must stand to upon every occasion. And yet, blessed be God, wee have not lost above foure of our people, who

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dyed upon distempers usual in other parts, soe far may be yo'r Honors be further convinced of the healthfulnesse of the place.

The stores of all forts doe very much want a supply, especially cloathing, being all disposed of already and many of the people unsatisfied, and the winter is like to prove pretty sharp. The powder was all damnified, especially when the sterne of the ship broke in, soe as there is a great necessity of ten barrells of powder more.

Wee have received some cowes and hoggs from Virginia, but at an imoderate rate, considering the smallnesse of their growth, 30s. for a hog, a better than w'ch may be bought in England for 10s. If yo'r Honors had a small stocke in Bermuda from thence may be transported to this place a very good breed of large Cowes, Hoggs and Sheep at farr easier rates.

The Bahama Islands lyeing neare this coast from the latt. 34 to 37, being lately settled, and as yet in no patents, soe far as wee can understand, may be worthy yo'r Honors' care to take notice of. For from thence wee can be supplied with salt, and shippes goeing home without freight (if any such should be) may take in a loading of Brazellettoe wood.

Wee are in great want of an able minister, by whose meanes corrupted youth might be very much reclaimed and the people instructed in the

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true religion, and that the Sabbaoth and service of Almighty God be not neglected.

The Israelites' prosperity decayed when their prophets were wanting, for where the Arke of God is, there is peace and tranquility. That the want thereof may never be knowne to yo'r Honors or this place, are the prayers of,

Yo'r Honor's most faithfull

Humble fervants,

WILLIAM SAYLE,
FLOR. O. SULLIVAN,
STE. BULL,
JOSEPH WEST,
WITT. SCRIVENER,
RALPH MARSHALL,
PAUL. SMYTHE,
SAMUEL WEST.

JOS. DALTON, *Sec'ry.*

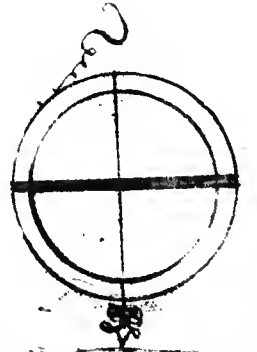
*To the Right Hono'ble ANTHONY LORD ASHLEY,
Chancellor of His Ma't's Co'rt of Excheq'r,
and the rest of the Lords Proprietors of Caro-
lina, at Whitehall, humbly p'r sent, London.*

Endorsed: Council at Ashley Riv. to Lords Proprietors, 9th Sept., '70.

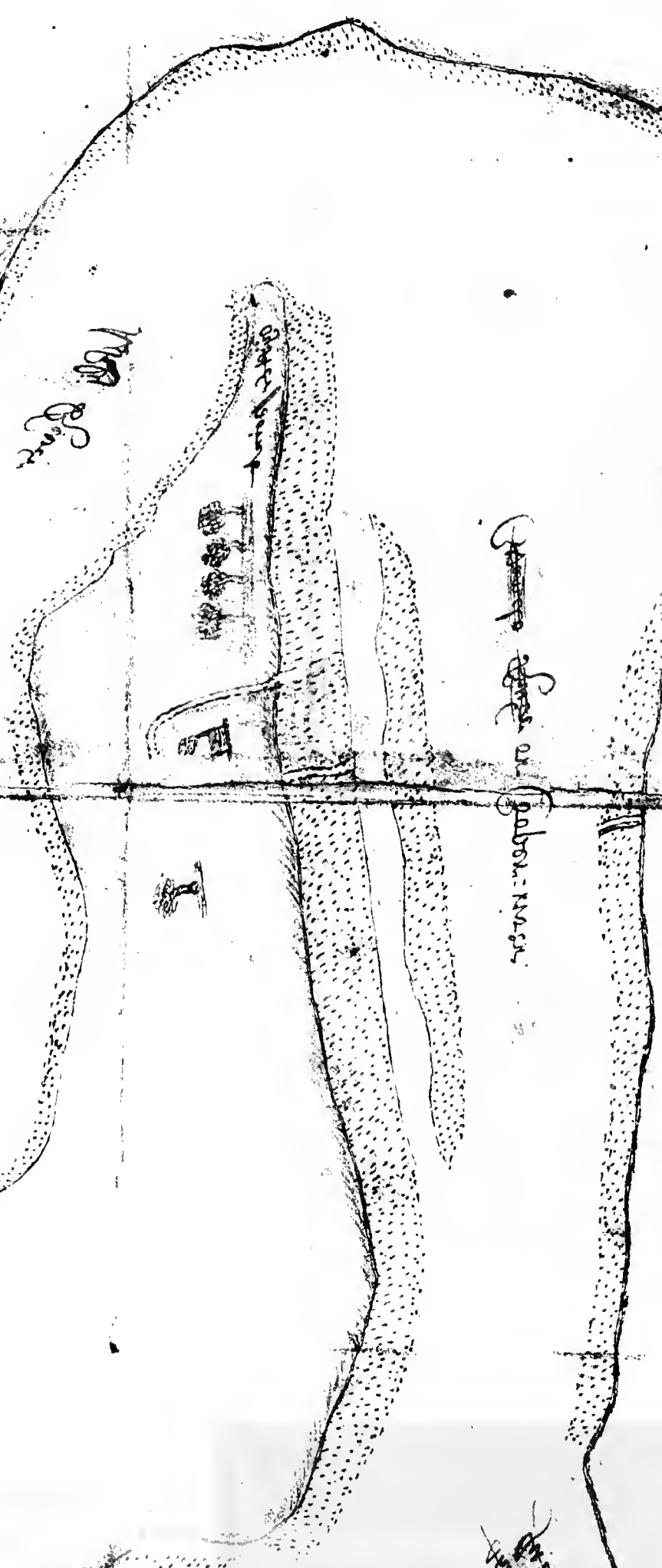
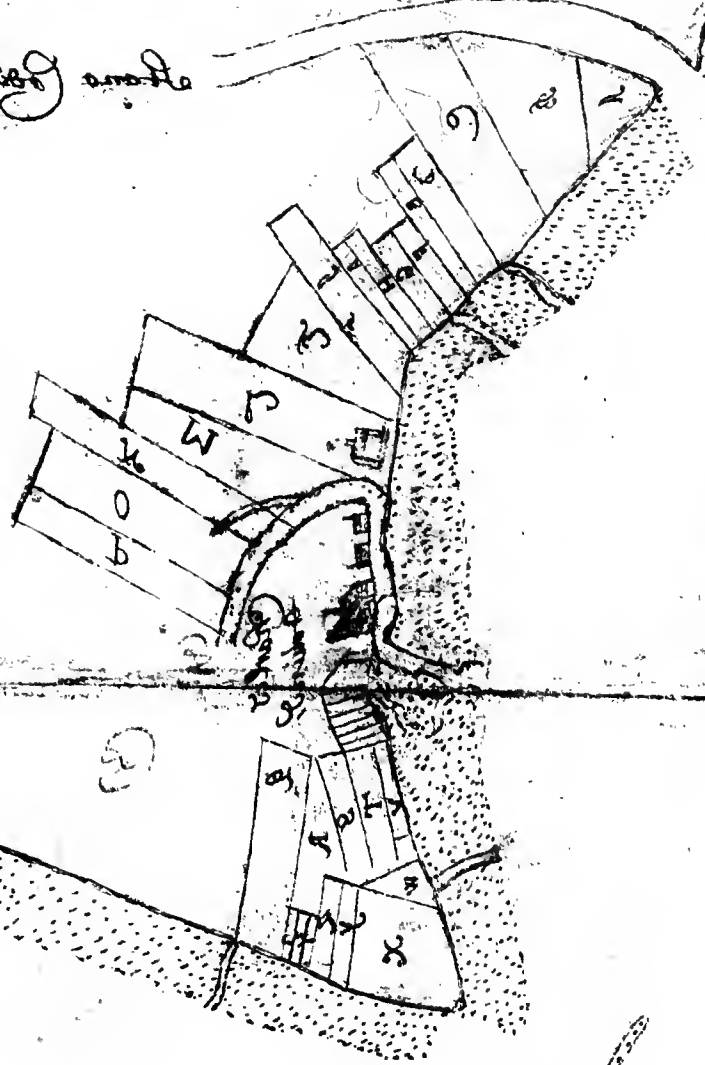
The first part of the manuscript is written in a cursive hand, and is divided into two columns by a vertical line. The text is mostly illegible due to the poor condition of the document, but some words are visible, such as "The first part of the manuscript" and "The second part of the manuscript". The second column contains a list of names, which appear to be "John", "James", "Robert", "Thomas", "William", "Richard", "Henry", "George", "Edward", "Charles", "Francis", "John", "James", "Robert", "Thomas", "William", "Richard", "Henry", "George", "Edward", "Charles", "Francis". The third part of the manuscript is written in a cursive hand, and is divided into two columns by a vertical line. The text is mostly illegible due to the poor condition of the document, but some words are visible, such as "The third part of the manuscript" and "The fourth part of the manuscript". The fourth part of the manuscript is written in a cursive hand, and is divided into two columns by a vertical line. The text is mostly illegible due to the poor condition of the document, but some words are visible, such as "The fourth part of the manuscript" and "The fifth part of the manuscript".



Handwritten notes in the top left corner, including the word "Camp" and other illegible text.



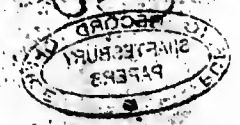
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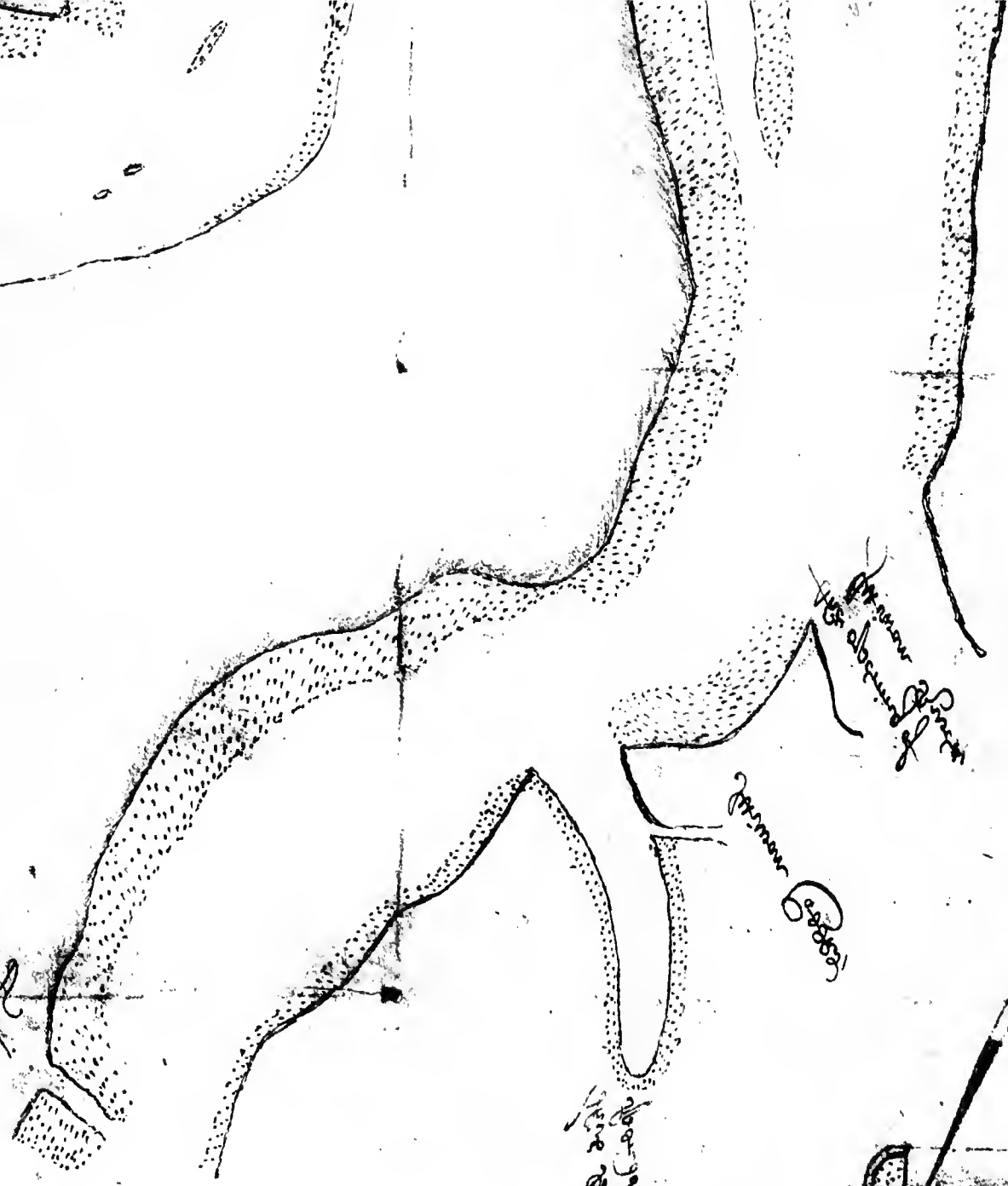
Handwritten notes in the bottom left corner, including the word "Camp" and other illegible text.



[Faint, mostly illegible handwritten text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]

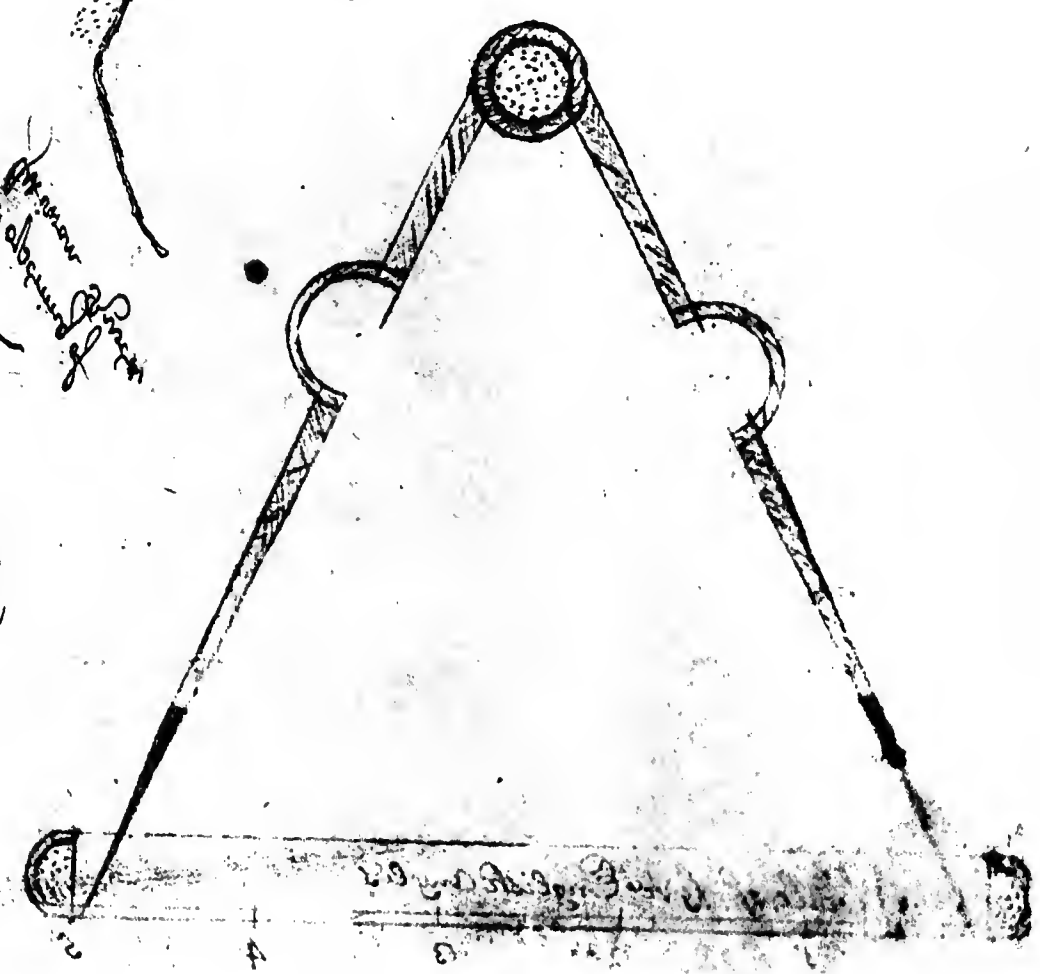


[Handwritten notes in cursive script, possibly identifying a location or feature on the map.]



[Vertical handwritten note, possibly a date or a reference.]

[Handwritten notes in cursive script, likely describing the map's content.]



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MARCH 4TH, 1670.

*To the Right Hon'ble Sir PETER COLLINGTON,
Knight. The humble Declaration of JOHN RUSSELL,
late M'r of the Porte Royall, Concerning his Condicon.*

Shewinge to Your Honour:

After wee fett sayle and departed from England, wee sayled to Kingsale in Ireland, where Capt. West shipt a mate on board us, from thence wee fayled to the Barbadoes, where the Right Hon'ble Sir John Yeomans was pleased to embarque himselfe on board of us, (hee being appoynted as Governor for the settlement, leavinge Barbadoes meeting with bade weather wee were forced to putt in att Nevis, where Sir John was pleased to send on board me one Christopher Barrowe with instructions to pilott the shipp to Port Royall, when, the wind comeinge about faire wee sett sayle from Nevis, haveinge not above a fortnight's water for 44 people,) and had good weather untill such tyme as wee came nere the land where wee found a great alteration in soe much that wee were forced to part from our fleet, and haveinge beene six weeks beating from place to place by reason of continuance of foule weather wee were beaten of the land 3 severall tymes and were driven to such great want of water that wee were all ready to perish, our allowance beinge butt a

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pinte and fometymes halfe a pinte a day, and afterwards many of us were forced to drinck theyre owne urine and salt water. Being in this difmall difpayreinge condition and haveinge by the advice of Christopher Barrowe beaten or driven much to the Southward expectinge fayre weather, through his persuasion wee endeavoured to touch at the Bahama Iflands and neare the ifland of Munjake near Abeco, being in the latitude of 26.14 minutes, wee were moft unfortunately caft away, beinge a place where neyther our Pilott or myfelf ever were before and both altogether unacquainted with, and the rocks lying 3 or 4 leagues off the fhoare, foe that wee could not poffibly putt in or runn afhore. Butt by God's great mercy, by the help of our boate wee putt all our people safe upon the ifland, where through the neglect and delayes of our inhumane Carpenter, who hath been the occafion of our long and tedious ftay, many of our people loft theyre lives there. I was forced to putt the Carpenter upon another ifland and to make a boate myfelfe, by reafon that he would not worke, with which boate wee landed onr-felves upon an ifland called Ellutherea inhabited, a place likewise unknown to us, where, by the inhabitants directions I hyred a fhallop and sayled from thence to the ifland called New Providence, where wee gott tranfportation for moft of us to the Barmoodoes, the reft wee left

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at Providence, except Barrowe and his wife, who went to a place called New Yorke; from Bar-moodoes I have since safely arrived att London and have made bold to give you the trouble of this accomp't, humbly peticoninge your Honour to take itt and mine and the rest of our conditions into your Honour's charitable consideration, havinge lost all, desiringe your Honour to allowe us for the tyme that our sayd shipp raigned.

Your Honor's most humble serv't,
JOHN RUSSELL.

Wee were cast away 12th January, 1670.

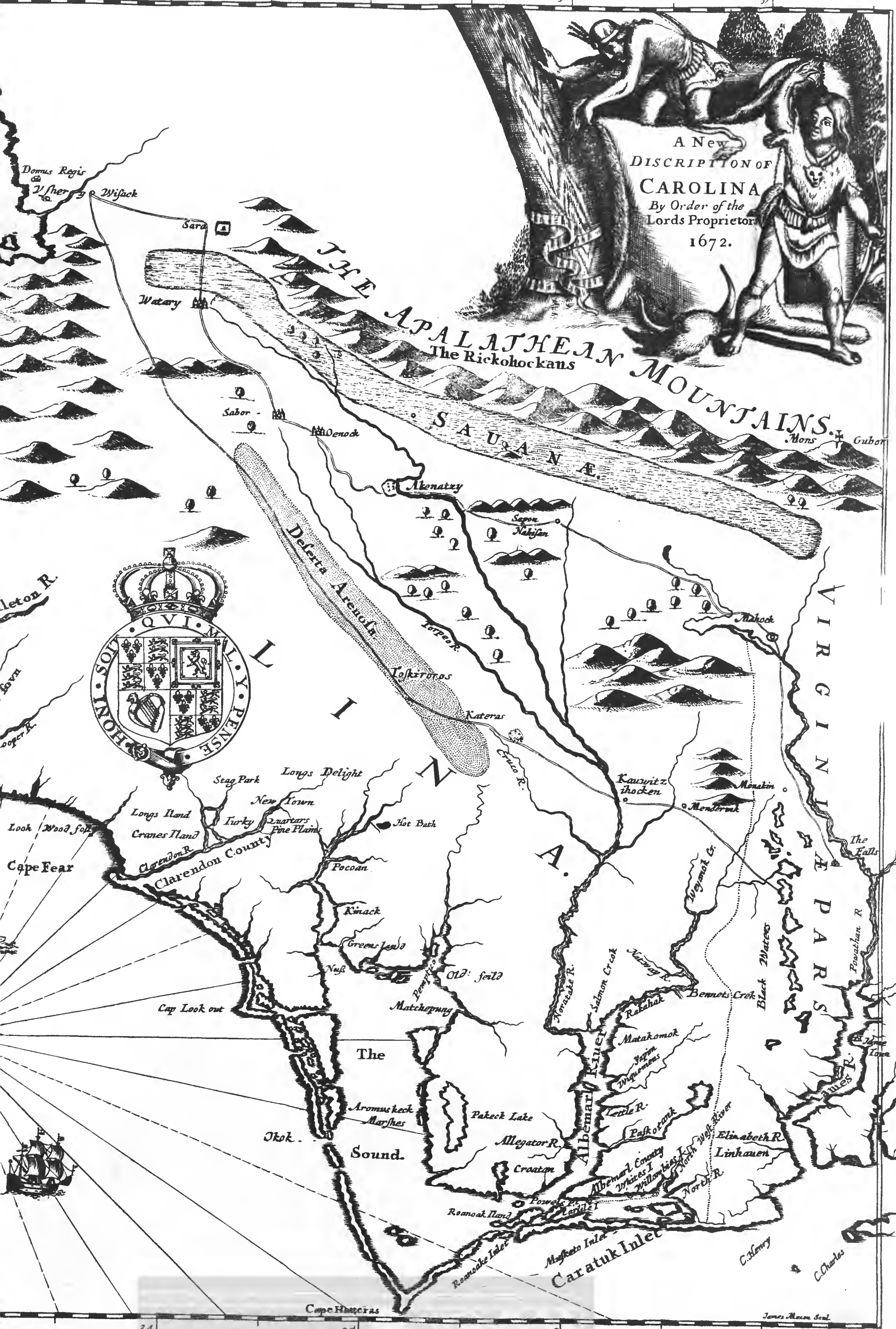
BARBADOES, the 15th of November, 1670.

Sir:

Yours of the 28th August last I rec'd with a copie of the 30th May last, the originall whereof never came to my hands, the miscarriage of which doth not a little trouble me. About fix weekes since here arrived one Mr. Barrow who was in *Port Royall* friggott bound for Carolina and a person very industrious in the taking an exact accompt of the transacciones of their unhappy voyage, which hee brought mee with severall papers and Plotts of the Bahamy Islands, which I gave to my friend your Brother, Mr. Thomas Colletton, for perusal and to send you coppies thereof, which he hath not as yet re-

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turned me. Soe that to the particulars of them I must refere you to him. Some few days since, here arrived the *Carolina* friggott from Carolina, by which wee have a large and ample accompt of the people's arriveall and good health there, only their deficiency in strength and number of People as you will perceive by my generall letter to all the Lords Proprietors for what supplies thofe parts cann afford. I have by my dayly care and industry withdrawne severall perfons from their resolutions of other fettlements, as Colonel Sharpe from New Yorke, who intended a large settlement there but has fuspended the fame untill a moderation be made to the severall excepcons specified in my generall letter here inclofed to the Lords, with one to Lord Ashley, which pray deliver. I presume the *Carolina* friggott may be ready about three weekes hence to depart for said province, wherein by my persuation is bound Capt. Godfrey and Mr. Thomas Gray, (who was my chiefe Agent of all my affaires here,) with a very considerable strength of servants and many others unknown to you, soe needles here to name. Here is lately passed an Act in this island to prevent depopulation, in which there are great penalties imposed upon such perfons that shall endeavour and persuade any to goe hence for other Colonies, which will be a great hindrance of supplies from hence. I have onely at present



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to desire your concurrence and urgency with the
Lords for a speedy anfwere to my generall letter,
wishing you health and prosperity, I assure you,
I am

Your very faithfull fervant,

JOHN YEAMANS.

These for my Honored Friende, Sr. PETER COLLI-
TON, Baronett,
present.



THE
DISCOVERIES
OF
JOHN LEDERER,

In three several Marches from *Virginia* to the
West of *Carolina*, and other parts of the
Continent:

Begun in *March*, 1669, and ended in *September*,
1670,

TOGETHER WITH

A General Map of the whole Territory which he
traverfed.

Collected and Tranflated out of Latine from his
Difcourfe and Writings,

By Sir *William Talbot*, Baronet.

*Sed nos immensum spatiis confecimus æquor, Et jam tempus
equum fumantia solvere colla.*

Virg Georg.

London, Printed by J. C. for *Samuel Heyrick*, at Grays-Inn-gate in Holborn.
1672.

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Cambridge, Mass.



To the Right Honourable Anthony, Lord Ashley, Baron Ashley, of Wimborn, St. Giles, Chancellor of His Majesties Exchequer, Under-Treasurer of England, one of the Lords Commissioners of His Majesties Treasury, one of the Lords of His Most Honourable Privie Council and of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina :

My Lord,

FROM this discourse it is clear that the long-looked for discovery of the *Indian Sea* does nearly approach; and *Carolina*, out of her happy experience of your Lordships' success in great undertakings, presumes that the accomplishment of this glorious Designe is reserved for her. In order to which, the *Apalatean Mountains* (though like the prodigious wall that divides *China* and *Tartary*, they deny *Virginia* passage into the West Continent) stoop to your Lordship's Dominions, and lay open a prospect into unlimited Empires, Empires that will hereafter be ambitious of subjection to that noble

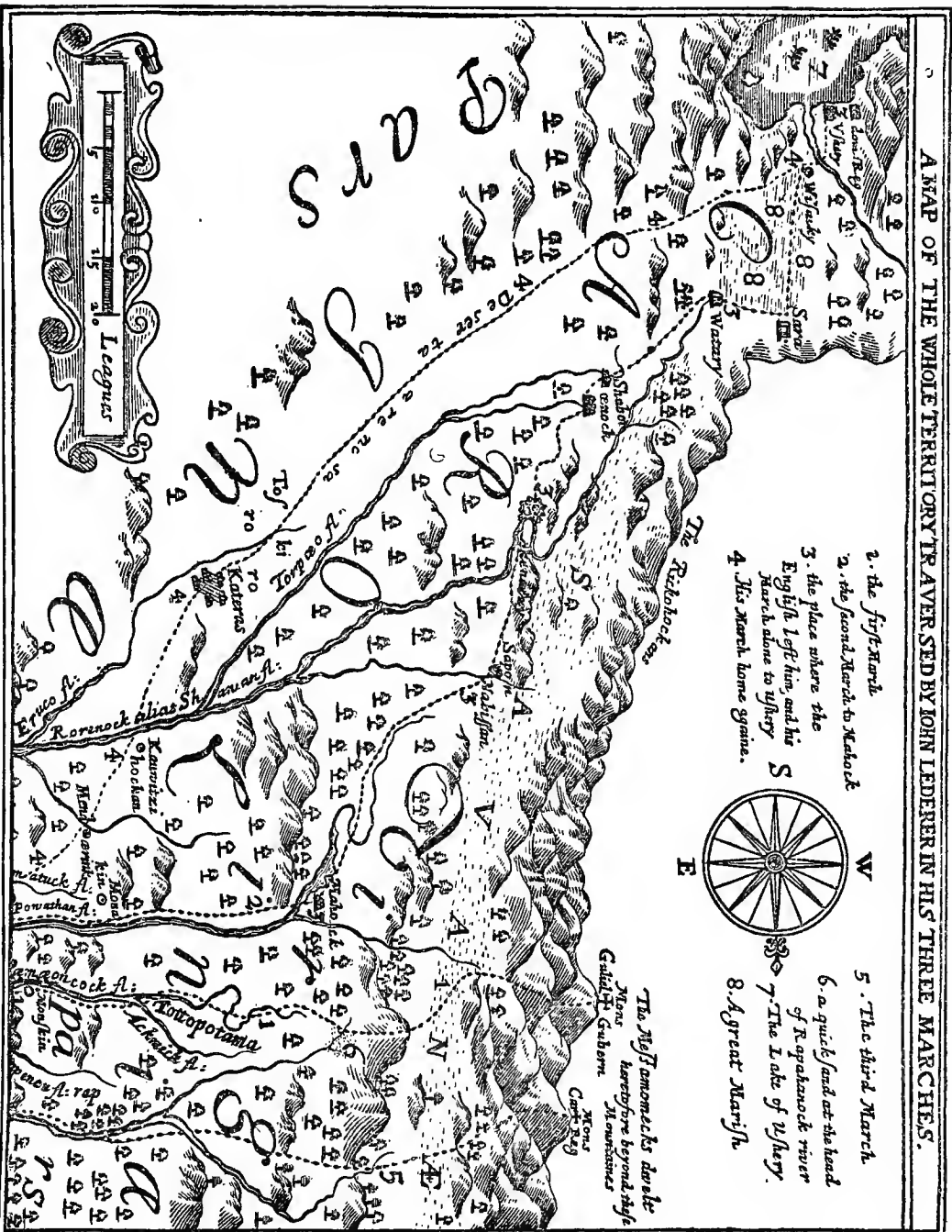
Government which by your Lordship's deep wisdom and providence first projected, is now established in *Carolina*; for it will appear that she flourishes more by the influence of that, than the advantages she derives from her Climate and Soil, which yet do render her the Beauty and envy of *North America*. That all her glories should be seen in this draught, is not reasonably to be expected, since the fate to my Author but once, and then too with a side face; and therefore I must own that it was never by him designed for the Press, but published by me, out of no other ambition than that of manifesting to the world, that I am,

My Lord,

*Your Lordship's most humble and
obedient servant,*

WILLIAM TALBOT.

A MAP OF THE WHOLE TERRITORY TRAVERSED BY JOHN LEDNER IN HIS THREE MARCHES.



To The Reader.

THAT a stranger should presume (though with Sir William Berkly's Commission to go into those parts of the American Continent where Englishmen never had been, and whither some refused to accompauy him, was, in Virginia look'd on as so great an insolence, that our Traveller at his return, instead of welcom and applause, met nothing but Affronts, and Reproaches ; for indeed it was their part, that forsook him in the Expedition, to procure him discredit that was a witness to theirs : Therefore no industry was wanting to prepare men with a prejudice against him, and this their malice improved to such a general Animosity, that he was not safe in Virginia from the outrage of the people, drawn into a perswasion, that the Publick Levy of that year, went all to the expence of his Vagaries. Forced by this storm into Maryland, he became known to me, though then ill-affected to the Man, by the stories that went about of him. Nevertheless finding him, contrary to my expectation, a modest ingenious person, & a pretty Scholar, I thought it common justice to give him an occasion of vindicating himself from what I had heard of him ; which truly he did with so convincing Reason and circumstance, as quite abolished those former impressions in me, and

made me desire this account of his travels, which here you have faithfully rendered out of Latine from his own writings and Discourse, with an entire Map of the Territory he traversed, copied from his own hand. All these I have compared with Indian Relations of those parts (though I never met with an Indian that had followed a Southwest Course so far as this German) and finding them agree, I thought the Printing of these Papers was no injury to the Author, and might prove a Service to the Publick.

WILLIAM TALBOT.



THE
Discoveries of John Lederer,
*From Virginia to the west of Carolina, and other
parts of the Continent.*
A GENERAL AND BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE
NORTH AMERICAN CONTINENT.

NORTH, as well as *South America*, may be divided into three Regions: the Flats, the Highlands, and the Mountains. The Flats, (in Indian, *Ahkynt*) is the territory lying between the Eastern Coast and the falls of the great Rivers, that there run into the *Atlantick* ocean, in extent generally taken Ninety miles. The Highlands (in Indian, *Ahkontschuck*) begin at those falls and determine at the foot of the great ridge of Mountains that run thorow the midst of this Continent, Northeast and Southwest, called by the Spaniards *Apalataei*, from the Nation *Apalakin*; and by the Indians, *Pæmotinck*. According to the best of my observation and conjecture they lie parallel to the *Atlantick* Sea coast, that bearing from *Canada* to *Cape Florida*, Northeast and Southwest, and then falling off due West as the Mountains do at *Sara*: but here

they take the name of *Suala* ; *Sara* in the *Warrenuncock* dialect being *Sasa* or *Sualy*.

The Flats, or *Ahkynt*, are by former writers made so well known to Christendom, that I will not stop the Reader here with an unnecessary description of them, but shall only say that by the rankness of the Soil, and salt moistness of the air, daily discoveries of Fish shells three fathoms deep in the earth, and Indian tradition ; these parts are supposed some ages past to have been under the sea.

The Highlands (or *Ahkontshuck*) though under the same parallels, are happier notwithstanding in a more temperate and healthful air. The ground is overgrown with underwood in many places, and that so perplexed and interwoven with vines, that who travels here must sometimes cut through his way. These thickets harbour all sorts of beasts of prey, as Wolves, Panthers, Leopards, Lions, &c., (which are neither so large nor so fierce as those of *Asia* and *Africa*) and small vermine, as Wilde Cats, Foxes and Racoons. These parts were formerly possessed by the *Tacci*, alias *Dogi*, but they are extinct, and the Indians now seated here, are distinguished into the several Nations of *Mahoc*, *Nuntaneuck*, alias *Nuntaly*, *Nahyssan*, *Sapon*, *Managog*, *Mangoack*, *Akenatzy*, and *Monakin*, &c. One language is common to them all, though they differ in dialects. The parts inhab-

ited here are pleasant and fruitful, because cleared of wood, and laid open to the sun. The valleys feed numerous herds of Deer and Elks larger than oxen; these valleys they call *Savanæ*, being Marish grounds at the foot of the *Apalataei*, and yearly laid under water in the beginning of Summer by floods of melted snow falling down from the Mountains.

The *Apalatean* Mountains, called in Indian *Pæmotinck*, (or the origine of the Indians) are barren rocks, and therefore deserted by all living creatures but Bears, who cave in the hollow Cliffs. Yet do these Mountains shoot out to the Eastward great promontories of rich land, known by the high and spreading trees which they bear; these promontories, because lower than the main ridge, are called by the Indians *Taux Pæmotinck* (alias *Aquatt*.) To the North east the Mountains rise higher; and at *Sava* they sink so low that they are easily passed over, but here (as was said before) they change their course and name, running due West and being called *Sualy*; now the *Sualian* Mountains rise higher and higher Westward.

Of the Manners and Customs of the Indians Inhabiting the Western parts of Carolina and Virginia.

The Indians now seated in these parts are none of those which the English removed from

Virginia, but a people driven by the enemy from the Northwest, and invited to sit down here by an Oracle above four hundred years since, as they pretend for the ancient inhabitants of *Virginia* were far more rude and barbarous, feeding only upon raw flesh and fish, until these taught them to plant corn, and shewed them the use of it.

But before I treat of their ancient Manners and Customs, it is necessary I should show by what means the knowledge of them hath been conveyed from former ages to posterity. Three ways they supply their want of Letters: first, by Counters, secondly by Emblems or Hieroglyphicks, thirdly by Tradition delivered in long tales from father to son, which being children they are made to learn by rote. For counters, they use either Pebbles, or short scantlings of straw or reeds. Where a Battel has been fought, or a colony seated, they raise a small Pyramid of these stones, consisting of the number slain or transplanted. Their reeds and straws serve them in Religious Ceremonies for they lay them orderly in a circle when they prepare for devotion or sacrifice; and that performed, the Circle remains still; for it is sacrilege to disturb or to touch it, the disposition and sorting of the straws and reeds shew what kind of rites have there been celebrated, as Invocation, Sacrifice, Burial, &c.

The faculties of the minde and body they commonly exprefs by Emblems. By the figure of a Stag, they imply Swiftneſs; by that of a Serpent, wrath; of a Lion, courage; of a Dog, fidelity; by a ſwan they ſignifie the *English*, alluding to their complexion and flight over the Sea.

An account of Time, and other things, they keep on a ſtring or leather thong tied in knots of ſeveral colours. I took particular notice of ſmall wheels ſerving for this purpoſe amongſt the *Oenocks*, becauſe I have heard that the *Mexicans* uſe the ſame. Every nation gives his particular Enſigne or arms: The *Sasquesahan-ough* a Tarapine, or ſmall Tortoiſe; the *Aken-atzy's* a Serpent; the *Nahyſſanes* three Arrows, &c. In this they likewise agree with the *Mexican* Indians. *Vid. Joſ. à Coſta.*

They worſhip one God, Creator of all things, whom ſome call *Okæè*, others *Mannith*; to him alone the Highpriest, or *Periku*, offers ſacrifice, and yet they believe he has no regard to ſub-lunary affairs, but commits the Government of Mankind to leſſer Deities, as *Quiacosough* and *Tagkanyſough*, that is, good and evil Spirits: to theſe the inferior Priests pay their devotion and Sacrifice, at which they make recitals, to a lamentable tune, of the great things done by their Anceſtors.

From four women, viz: *Pash*, *Sepoy*, *Askarin*

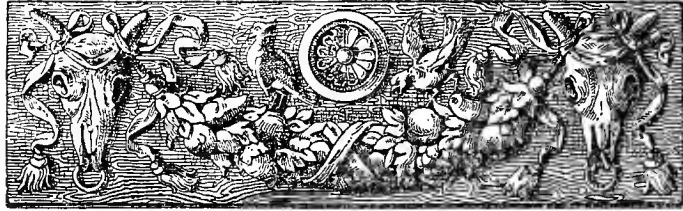
and *Maraskarin*, they derive the Race of Man-kinde; which they therefore divide into four Tribes, distinguished under those several names. They very religiously observe the degrees of marriage, which they limit not to distance of kindred, but difference of tribes, which are continued in the issue of the female; now for two of the same tribe to match is abhorred as incest and punished with great severity.

Their places of Burial they divide into four quarters, assigning to every Tribe one; for, to mingle their bodies, even when dead, they hold wicked and ominous. They commonly wrap up the corps in beasts' skins, and bury with it Provision and Household stuff for its use in the other world. When their great men die they likewise slay prisoners of war to attend them. They believe the transmigration of souls: for the Angry they say is possessed with the spirit of a serpent; the Bloudy with that of a Wolf; the Timorous of a Deer; the Faithful, of a Dog, &c., and therefore they are figured by these Emblems.

Elizium, or the abode of their lesser Deities, they place beyond the Mountains and Indian Ocean.

Though they want those means of Improving Humane Reason, which they use of Letters affords us; let us not therefore conclude them wholly destitute of Learning and Sciences; for by

these little helps which they have found, many of them advance their natural understandings to great knowledge in Physick, Rhetorick and Policie of Government; for I have been present at several of my Consultations and Debates, and to my admiration have heard some of their Seniors deliver themselves with as much judgement and Eloquence as I should have expected from men of Civil *education and literature*.



The First Expedition

From the head of *Pamæoncock*, alias *York River* (due West) to the top of the *Apalataen Mountains*.

Upon the ninth of *March*, 1669, (with three Indians whose names were *Magtakunk*, *Hopotto-guoh*, and *Naunugh*) I went out at the falls of *Pemæoncock*, alias *York River in Virginia*, from an Indian Village called *Shickehumany*, and lay that night in the woods, encountring nothing remarkable, but a Rattle snake of extraordinary size and thicknes, for I judged it two yards and a half and better from head to tail, and as big about as a man's arm; by the distention of her belly we believed her full with young, but having killed and opened her found there a small squirrel whole; which caused in me a double wonder: first, how a Reptile should catch so nimble a creature as a squirrel, and having caught it, how could she swallow it entire. The Indians in resolving my doubts, plunged me into a greater astonishment, when they told me it was usual with these serpents when

they lie basking in the sun, to fetch down these squirrels from the tops of the trees, by fixing their eyes steadfastly upon them, the horror of which strikes such an affrightment into the little beast that he has no power to hinder himself from tumbling down into the jaws of his enemy, who takes in all his sustenance without chewing, his teeth serving him only to offend withal. But I rather believe what I have heard from others, that these Serpents climb the trees and surprise their prey in the nest.

The next day falling into Marsh grounds between *Pemæoncock* and the head of the River *Matapeneugh*, the heaviness of the way obliged me to cross *Pemæoncock*, where its North and South branch (called *Ackmick*) join in one. In the Peninsula made by these two branches, a great Indian King called *Tottopotoma* was heretofore slain in Battle, fighting for the Christians against the *Mahocks* and *Nahyffans*, from which it retains his name to this day. Travelling through the Woods, a Doe seized by a wild Cat crossed our way; the miserable creature being even spent and breathless with the burden and cruelty of her rider, who having fastened on her shoulder, left not sucking out her blood until she sunk under him; which one of the Indians perceiving, let fly a lucky Arrow, which piercing him through the belly, made him quit his prey already slain, and turn with a terrible grimace at

us; but his strength and spirits failing him we escaped his revenge, which had certainly ensued, were not his wound mortal. This creature is something bigger than our English Fox of a reddish grey colour, and in figure every way agreeing with an ordinary cat, fierce, ravenous and cunning; for finding the Deer (upon which they delight most to prey) too swift for them, they watch upon branches of trees, and as they walk or feed under, jump down upon them. The Fur of the wilde Cat, though not very fine, is yet esteemed for its virtues in taking away cold Aches and Pains, being worn next to the body; their flesh, though rank as a dog's, is eaten by the Indians.

The eleventh and twelfth I found the ways very uneven, and cumbered with bushes.

The thirteenth I reached the first spring of *Pemæoncock*, having crossed the River four times that day, by reason of its many windings; but the water was so shallow, that it hardly wet my horse's posterns. Here a little under the surface of the earth I found flat pieces of petrified matter, of one side solid stone, but on the other side isinglass, which I easily peeled off in flakes about four inches square; several of these pieces, with a transparent stonelike crystal that cut glaff, and a white Marchasite that I purchased of the Indians, I presented to *Sir William Berkeley*, Governor of *Virginia*.

The fourteenth of *March* from the top of an eminent hill, I first descried the *Apalataean* Mountains, bearing due West to the place I stood upon; their distance from me was so great that I could hardly discern whether they were Mountains or clouds, until my Indian fellow travellers prostrating themselves in adoration, howled out after a barbarous manner, *Okiepæze*, i. e., *God is nigh*.

The fifteenth of *March*, not far from this hill, passing over the South branch of *Rapahanock* River, I was almost swallowed in a Quicksand. Great herds of Red and Fallow Deer I daily saw feeding; and on the hillsides, Bears crashing Mast like Swine. Small Leopards I have seen in the woods, but never any Lions, though their skins are much worn by the Indians. The wolves in these parts are so ravenous that I often in the night feared that my horse would be devoured by them, they would gather up and howl so close round about him, though tether'd to the same tree at whose foot I myself and the Indians lay, but the Fires which we made, I suppose, scared them from worrying us all. Beaver and Otter I met with at every river that I passed; and the woods are full of grey Foxes.

Thus I travelled all the sixteenth; and on the seventeenth of *March* I reached the *Apalataei*. The Air here is very thick and chill; and the

waters iffuing from the Mountain fides, of a Blue colour, and Allumifh tafte.

The eighteenth of *March*, after I had in vain affayed to ride up, I alighted, and left my horfe with one of the Indians, whilst with the other two I climbed up the Rocks and, which were so incumbered with bufhes and brambles, that the afcent proved very difficult; besides the precipice was so fteep that if I look't down I was immediately taken with a fwimming in my head, though afterward the way was more eafie. The height of this mountain was very extraordinary, for notwithstanding I fet out with the first appearance of light, it was late in the evening before I gained the top, from whence the next morning I had a beautiful prospect of the *Atlantick* Ocean washing the *Virginia* fhore; but to the North and Weft my fight was fuddenly bounded by mountains higher than that I flood upon. Here did I wander in fnow, for the moft part, till the four and twentieth day of *March*, hoping to finde fome paffage through the mountains, but the coldneff of the air and earth together, feizing my hands and Feet with numbneff, put me to a *ne plus ultra*; and therefore having found my *Indian* at the foot of the Mountain with my Horfe, I returned back by the fame way that I went.



The Second Expedition

From the Falls of *Powhatan*, alias *James River*,
in *Virginia*, to *Mahock* in the *Apalataen*
Mountains.

The twentieth of *May*, 1670, one Major *Harris* and myself, with twenty *Christian* Horfe and five *Indians*, marched from the Falls of *James River*, in *Virginia*, towards the *Monakins*, and on the two and twentieth were welcomed by them with volleys of shot. Near this village we observed a pyramid of stones piled up together, which their Priests told us, was the number of an *Indian* Colony drawn out by Lot from a neighbour-Countrey over-peopled and led hither by one *Monack*, from whom they take the name of *Monakin*. Here enquiring the way to the mountains, an ancient Man described with a staffe two paths on the ground; one pointing to the *Mahocks*, and the other to the *Nahyffans*; but my *English* Companions flighting the *Indians* direction, shaped their course by the com-

pass due West; and therefore it fell out with us, as it does with those Sand Crabs, that crawling backwards in a direct line, avoid not the trees that stand in their way, but climbing over their very tops, come down again on the other side, and so after a day's labour gain not above two foot of ground. Thus we obstinately pursuing a due West course, rode over steep and craggy Cliffs, which beat our horses quite off the hoof. In these mountains we wandered from the Twenty-fifth of *May* till the third of *June*, finding very little sustenance for Man or Horse; for these places are destitute both of Grain and Herbage.

The third of *June* we came to the South branch of *James River* which Major *Harris* observing to run Northward, vainly imagined to be an arm of the Lake of *Canada*; and was so transported with this Fancy, that he would have raised a Pillar to the discovery if the fear of the *Mahock Indian*, and want of food, had permitted him to stay. Here I moved to cross the river and march on; but the rest of the company were so weary of the enterprise, that crying out *One and All*, they had offered violence to me, had I not been provided with a private commission from the Governor of *Virginia* to proceed, though the rest of the company should abandon me; the sight of which laid their fury.

The leffer Hills or *Akontshuck*, are here unpaffable, being both steep and craggy. The rocks seemed to me at a distance to resemble eggs set up on end.

James River is here as broad as it is about an hundred mile lower at *Monakin*, the passage over is very dangerous, by reason of the rapid Torrents made by Rocks and shelves forcing the water into narrow Channels. From an observation which we made of straws and rotten chuncks hanging in boughs of trees on the bank, and two and twenty foot above water, we argued that the melted snow falling from the Mountains swelled the River to that height, the Flood carrying down that rubbish which, upon the abatement of the inundation, remained in the Trees.

The Air in these parts were so moist that all our Biscuit became mouldy and unfit to be eaten, so that some nicer stomachs, who at our setting out laughed at my provision of *Indian* meal parched, would gladly now have shared with me, but I being determined to go upon further Discoveries refused to part with any of that which was *to be my most necessary sustenance*.

The *Continuation* of the Second Expedition
from Mahock, Southward, into the Province of
Carolina.

The fifth of *June*, my company and I parted good friends, they back again, and I with one *Sasquesahanough Indian*, named *Jackzetavon*, only, in purfuit of my first enterprize, changing my courſe from Weſt to South-weſt and by South, to avoid the mountains. Major *Harris* at parting gave me a Gun, believing me a loft man, and given up as a prey to *Indians* or ſavage beaſts ; which made him the bolder in *Virginia* to report ſtrange things in his own praiſe and my diſparagement, preſuming I would never return to diſprove him. This, I ſuppoſe, and no other, was the cauſe that he did with ſo much induſtry procure me diſcredit and odium ; but I have loſt nothing by it, but what I never ſtudied to gain, which is popular Applauſe.

From the fifth, which was *Sunday* until the ninth of *June*, I travelled through different Ways, without ſeeing any Town or *Indian* ; and then I arrived at Sapon, a village of the *Nahyſſans*, about an hundred miles diſtant from *Mahock*, ſituate upon a branch of *Shawan*, alias *Rorenock* River ; and though I had juſt cauſe to fear theſe *Indians*, becauſe they had been in continual hoſtility with the *Chriſtians* for ten years before ; yet preſuming that the truck

which I carried with me would procure my welcome, I adventured to put myself into their power, having heard that they never offer any injury to a few persons from whom they apprehend no danger; nevertheless they examined me strictly whence I came, whither I went, and what my business was. But after I had bestowed some trifles of Glass and Metal amongst them, they were satisfied with reasonable answers, and I received with all imaginable demonstrations of kindness, as offering of sacrifice, a compliment shewed only to such as they design particularly to honour; but they went further, and consulted their Gods whether they should not admit me into their Nation and Councils, and oblige me to stay amongst them by a Marriage with the Kings or some of their great Mens Daughters. But I, though with much ado, waved their courtesie, and got my Passport, having given my word to return to them within six months.

Sapon is within the limits of the Province of *Carolina*, and as you may perceive by the Figure, has all the attributes requisite to a pleasant and advantageous seat; for though it stands high, and upon dry land, it enjoys the benefit of a stately River, and a rich Soil, capable of producing a great many commodities, which may hereafter render the trade of it considerable.

Not far distant from hence, as I understand

from the *Nahyffan* Indians, is their King's Residence, called *Pintahæ*, upon the same River, and happy in the same advantages both for pleasure and profit; which my curiosity would have led me to see, were I not bound both by Oath and Commission to a direct pursuance of my intended purpose of discovering a passage to the further side of the Mountains.

This Nation is governed by an absolute Monarch; the people of a high stature, warlike and rich. I saw great store of Pearl unbored in their little Temples and Oratories, which they had won amongst other spoils from the Indians of *Florida*, and hold in as great esteem as we do.

From hence, by the Indians' instructions, I directed my course to *Akenatzzy*, an Island bearing South and by West, and about fifty miles distant, upon a branch of the same River, from *Sapon*. The countrey here, though high, is level, and for the most part a rich Soyl, as I judged by the growth of the trees; yet where it is inhabited by Indians, it lies open in spacious Plains, and is blessed with a very healthful Air, as appears by the age and vigour of the people; and though I travelled in the month of *June*, the heat of the weather hindered me not from Riding at all hours without any great annoyance from the sun. By easie journeys I landed at *Akenatzzy* upon the twelfth of *June*.

The current of the river is here so strong, that my Horse had much difficulty to resist it, and I expected every step to be carried away with the stream.

This Island, though small, maintains many inhabitants, who are fix'd here in great security, being naturally fortified with Fastnesses of mountains, and water on every side. Upon the North shore they yearly reap great crops of corn, of which they always have a twelve-month Provision aforehand, against an invasion from their powerful Neighbours. Their Government is under two Kings, one presiding in Arms, the other in Hunting and Husbandry. They hold all things, except their wives, in common; and their custom in eating is, that every man in his turn, feasts all the rest; and he that makes the entertainment is seated betwixt the two Kings; where highly commending his own cheer they carve and distribute it amongst the guests.

At my arrival here I met four stranger Indians, whose bodies were painted in various colours with figures of Animals whose likeness I had never seen, and by some discourse and signes which passed between us, I gathered that they were the only survivors of fifty, who set out together in company from some great Island, as I conjecture, in the Northwest, for I understood that they crossed a great Water, in which most

of their party perished by tempest, the rest dying in the Marshes and Mountains by famine and hard weather, after a two-months travel by Land and Water in quest of this Island of *Akenatzy*.

The most reasonable conjecture that I can frame out of this Relation, is, that these Indians might come from the Island of new *Albion* or *California*, from whence we may imagine some great arm of the Indian Ocean or Bay stretches into the Continent towards the *Apalataen* Mountains in the nature of a mid-land Sea, in which many of these Indians might have perished. To confirm my opinion in this point, I have heard several Indians testify, that the Nation of *Rickahockans*, who dwell not far to the Westward of the *Apalutæn* Mountains, are seated upon a Land, as they term it, of great Waves, by which I suppose they mean the Sea-shore.

The next day after my arrival at *Akenatzy*, a *Rickahockan* Ambassadour, attended by five Indians, whose faces were coloured *Awripigmentum* (in which Mineral these parts do much abound) was received, and that night invited to a Ball of their fashion; but in the height of their mirth and dancing by a smoke contrived for that purpose, the Room was suddenly darkened, and for what cause I know not, the *Rickahockan* and his retinue barbarously murdered. This struck me with such an affrightment, that

the very next day, without taking my leave of them, I flunk away with my Indian companion. Though the desire of informing myself further concerning some minerals, as *Auripigmentum*, &c., which I there took special notice of, would have persuaded me to stay longer amongst them, had not the bloody example of their treachery to the *Rickohockans* frightened me away.

The fourteenth of *June*, pursuing a South southwest course, sometimes by a beaten path and sometimes over hills and rocks, I was forc'd to take up my quarters in the Woods; for though the *Oenock* Indians, whom I then fought, were not in a direct line above thirty odde miles distant from *Akenatzy*, yet the ways were such, and obliged me to go so far about, that I reached *Oenock* until the sixteenth. The country here, by the industry of these Indians, is very open and clear of wood. Their Town is built round a field, where in their Sports they exercise with so much labour and violence, and in so great numbers, that I have seen the ground wet with the sweat that dropped from their bodies; their chief recreation is flinging of stones. They are of mean stature and courage, covetous and thievish, industrious to earn a penny, and therefore hire themselves out to their neighbors, who employ them as Carriers or Porters. They plant abundance of Grain, reap three crops in a summer,

and out of their Granary supply all the adjacent parts. These and the Mountain Indians build not their houses of bark, but of Watling and Plaister. In Summer the heat of the weather makes them chuse to lie abroad in the night under thin arbours of wilde Palm. Some houses they have of Reed and Bark ; they build them generally round : to each house belongs a little hovel made like an oven, where they lay up their Corn and Maist, and keep it dry. They parch their Nuts and Acorns over the fire to take away their rank Oylineff, which afterwards preffed, yield a milky liquor, and the Acorns an Amber colour'd Oyl. In these mingled together, they dip their Cakes at great entertainments, and so serve them up to their guests as an extraordinary dainty. Their Government is Democratick ; and the Sentences of their old men are received as Laws, or rather Oracles, by them.

Fourteen miles West Southwest of the *Oenocks* dwell the *Shackory* Indians, upon a rich Soyl, and yet abounding in Antimony, of which they shewed me considerable quantities. Finding them agree with the *Oenocks* in Customs and Manners I made no stay here, but passing thorow their town I travelled till the nineteenth of *June*; then after a two days troublesome journey thorow thickets and Marish grounds I arrived at *Watary* above

fourty miles distant, and bearing West Southwest to *Shakor*. This Nation differs in Government from all the other Indians of these parts; for they are slaves rather than subjects to their King. Their present Monarch is a grave man, and courteous to strangers; yet I could not without horror behold his barbarous superstition, in hiring three youths and sending them forth to kill as many young women of their enemies as they could light on, to serve his son, then newly dead, in the other world, as he vainly fancied. These youths during my stay returned with skins torn off the heads and faces of three young girls, which they presented to his Majesty, and were by him gratefully received.

I departed from *Watary* the one and twentieth of *June*, and keeping a West course for near thirty miles, I came to *Sara*; here I found the ways more level and easie. *Sara* is not far distant from the Mountains, which here lose their height, and change their course and name; for they run due West, and receive from the Spaniards the name of *Suala*. From these Mountains or Hills the Indians draw great quantities of *Cinabar*, with which beaten to powder they colour their faces; this Mineral is of a deeper purple than Vermilion, and is the same which is in so much esteem amongst Physicians, being the first element of Quicksilver.

I did likewise, to my no small admiration, find hard cakes of white Salt amongst them, but whether they were made of Sea water or taken out of Salt pits I know not, but am apt to believe the later, because the sea is so remote from them.

Many other rich Commodities and minerals there are undoubtedly in these parts, which if possessed by an ingenious and industrious people would be improved to vast advantages by Trade. But having tied myself up to things onely that I have seen in my Travels, I will deliver no conjectures.

Lingua sile non est ultra narrabile quidquam. These Indians are so indiscreetly fond of their children that they will not chastise them for any mischief or insolence. A little Boy had shot an Arrow thorow my Body had I not reconciled him to me with gifts; and all this anger was because I spurred my horse out of another Arrow's way which he directed at him. This caused such a mutiny amongst the Youth of the Town, that the Seniors taking my horse and self into protection, had much ado (and that by entreaties and prayers, not commands) to appease them.

From *Sara* I kept a South Southwest course until the five and twentieth of *June*, and then I reached *Wifacky*. This three days march was more troublesome to me then all my travels be-

fides; for the direct way which I took from *Sara* to *Wifacky* is over a continued Marish overgrown with Reeds, from whose roots sprung knotty stumps as hard and sharp as Flint. I was forced to lead my horse most part of the way, and wonder that he was not either plunged in the Bogs, or lamed by those rugged knots.

This Nation is subject to a neighbour King residing upon the bank of a great Lake called *Ushery*, invironed of all sides with Mountains, and *Wifacky* Marish; and therefore I will detain the Reader no longer with the discourse of them, because I comprehend them in that of *Ushery*.

The six and twentieth of *June*, having crossed a fresh River, which runs into the Lake of *Ushery*, I came to the Town, which was more populous then any I had seen before in my March. The King dwells some three miles from it, and therefore I had no opportunity of seeing him the two nights which I stayed there. This Prince, though his dominions are large and populous, is in continual fear of the *Oustack* Indians seated on the opposite side of the Lake; a people so addicted to Arms that even their women come into the field and shoot Arrows over their husbands shoulders, who shield them with Leathern targets. The men it seems should fight with Silver Hatchets; for one of the *Ush-erers* told me they were of the same metal with the Pomel of my sword. They are a cruel generation, and prey upon people, whom they either

steal, or force away from the *Usheryes* in *Peri-agois*, to sacrifice to their Idols.

The *Ushery* women delight much in feather ornaments, of which they have great variety; but Peacocks in most esteem, because rare in those parts. They are reasonably handsome, and have more of civility in their carriage than I observed in the other Nations with whom I conversed; which is the reason the men are more effeminate and lazie.

These miserable wretches are strangely infatuated with illusions of the devil; it caused no small horror in me to see one of them writh his neck all on one side, foam at the mouth, stand barefoot upon burning coals for near an hour, and then recovering his senses, leap out of the fire without hurt, or signe of any. This I was an eye-witneff of.

The water of *Ushery* Lake seemed to my taste a little brackish, which I rather impute to some Mineral waters which flow into it, then to any saltneff it can take from the Sea, which we may reasonably suppose is a great way from it. Many pleasant Rivulets fall into it, and it is stored with great plenty of excellent fish. I judged it to be about ten leagues broad; for were not the other shore very high, it could not be discerned from *Ushery*. How far this Lake tends Westerly, or where it ends, I could neither learn or guess.

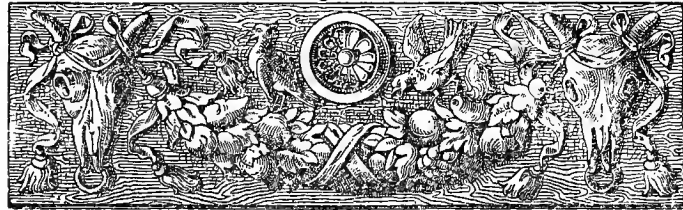
Here I made a day's stay, to inform myself further in these Countries; and understood both from the *Usheries*, and some *Sara* Indians that came to trade with them, that two days journey and a half from hence to the Southwest, a powerful Nation of Bearded men were seated, which I suppose to be the Spaniards, because the Indians never have any; it being a universal custom amongst them to prevent their growth, by plucking the young hair out by the roots. Westward lies a Government inhospitable of strangers, and to the North, over the *Suala* mountains lay the *Rickohockans*. I thought it not safe to venture myself amongst the Spaniards, lest taking me for a spy they would either make me away, or condemn me to a perpetual slavery in their Mines. Therefore not thinking fit to proceed further, the eight and twentieth of *June* I faced about and looked homeward.

To avoid *Wisacky* Marsh I shaped my course Northeast, and after three days travel over hilly ways, where I met with no path or road, I fell into a barren Sandy desert, where I suffered miserably for want of water; the heat of the Summer having drunk all the Springs dry, and left no signe of any, but the gravelly chanel in which they run; so that if now and then I had not found a standing Pool, which provident Nature set round with shady Oaks, to defend it from the ardour of the sun, my Indian compan-

ion, horse and self had certainly perished with thirst. In this distress we travelled till the twelfth of *July* and then found the head of a River, which afterward proved *Eruco*; in which we received not only the comfort of a necessary and seasonable refreshment, but likewise the hopes of coming into a country again where we might find Game for food at least, if not discover some new Nation or people. Nor did our hopes fail us; for after we had crossed the River twice, we were led by it upon the fourteenth of *July* to the Town of *Katearas*, a place of great Indian Trade and Commerce, and chief seat of the haughty Emperour of the *Toskiroros*, called *Raskufara*, vulgarly *Raskous*. His grim Majesty, upon my first appearance, demanded my Gun and Shot, which I willingly parted with to ransom myself out of his clutches; for he was the most proud imperious Barbarian that I met with in all my Marches. The people here at this time seemed prepared for some extraordinary Solemnity; for the men and the women of better sort had decked themselves very fine with pieces of bright copper in their hair and ears, and about their arms and neck, which upon Festival occasions they use as an extraordinary bravery, by which it should seem this Country is not without rich Mines of Copper. But I durst not stay to inform myself further in it, being jealous of some sudden mischief to-

wards me from *Kaskous*, his nature being bloody, and provoked upon any flight occasion.

Therefore leaving *Katearas*, I travelled through the Woods until the sixteenth, upon which I came to *Kawitziokan*, an Indian town upon a branch of *Rorenoke* river, which here I passed over, continuing my journey to *Menchærinck*, and on the seventeenth departing from thence I lay all night in the Woods, and the next morning, betimes, going by *Natoway*, I reached that evening *Apamatuck* in *Virginia*, where I was not a little overjoyed to see Christian faces again.



The Third and Last Expedition,

From the Falls of *Rappahanock* River in *Virginia*, (due West) to the top of the *Apalataen* Mountains.

ON the twentieth of *August*, 1670, Col. *Catlet*, of *Virginia* and myself, with nine English Horfe, and five Indians on foot, departed from the house of one *Robert Talifer*, and that night reached the falls of *Rappahanock* river, in Indian *Mantepeuck*:

The next day we passed it over where it divides into two branches North and South, keeping the main branch North of us.

The three and twentieth we found it so shallow, that it onely wet our horses hoofs.

The four and twentieth we travelled thorow the *Savane* amongst vast herds of Red and Fallow Deer which stood gazing at us; and a little after we came to the promontories or Spurs of the *Apalataen* Mountains.

These *Savannæ* are low grounds at the foot of the *Apalataens*, which all the Winter, Spring, and part of Summer, lie under snow or water, when the snow is dissolved, which falls down from the Mountains commonly about the beginning of *June*; and then their verdure is wonderful pleasant to the eye, especially of such as having travelled through the shade of the vast Forest, come out of a melancholy darkness of a sudden, into a clear and open sky.

To heighten the beauty of these parts the first Springs of most of those great Rivers which run into the *Atlantick* ocean, or *Chesapeake* Bay, do here break out, and in various branches interlace the flowery Meads, whose luxurious herbage invites numerous herds of Red Deer (for their unusual largeness improperly termed Elks by ignorant people) to feed. The right Elk, though very common in *New Scotland*, *Canada*, and those Northern parts, is never seen on this side of the Continent; for that which the *Virginians* call Elks, does not at all differ from the Red Deer of *Europe*, but in his dimensions, which are far greater; but yet the Elk in bigness does not far exceed them; their heads or horns are not very different; but the neck of the Elk is so short that it hardly separates the head from the shoulders; which is the reason that they cannot feed upon level ground but by falling on their knees, though their heads be a yard long;

therefore they commonly either brouse upon trees, or standing up to the belly in ponds or rivers feed upon the banks; their Cingles or tails are hardly three inches long. I have been told by a *New England* gentleman that the lips and nostrils of this creature is the most delicious meat he ever tasted. As for the Red Deer we here treat of, I cannot difference the taste of their flesh from those in *Europe*.

The sixth and twentieth of *August* we came to the Mountains, where finding no horse-way up, we alighted, and left our horses with two or three Indians below, whilst we went up afoot. The ascent was so steep, the cold so intense, and we so tired, that having with much ado gained the top of one of the highest, we drank the King's health in Brandy, gave the Mountain his name, and agreed to return back again, having no encouragement from that prospect to proceed to a further discovery; since from hence we saw another Mountain, bearing North and by West to us, of a prodigious height; for according to an observation of the distance taken by Col. *Catlet*, it could not be less than fifty leagues from the place we stood upon.

Here was I stung in my sleep by a Mountain spider; and had not an Indian sucked out the poison I had died, for receiving the hurt at the tip of one of my fingers, the venom shot up immediately into my shoulder, and so inflamed my

side that it is not possible to express my torment. The means used by my physician, was first a small dose of snake-root powder, which I took in a little water; and then making a kinde of Plaister of the same, applied it neer to the part affected; when he had done so, he swallowed some by way of Antidote himself, and sucked my finger's end so violently that I felt the venome retire back from my side into my shoulder, and from thence down my arm; having thus sucked half a score of times, and spit as often. I was eased of all my pain, and perfectly recovered. I thought I had been bit by a Rattlesnake, for I saw not what hurt me; but the Indian found by the wound, and the effects of it, that it was given by a spider, one of which he shewed me the next day; it is not unlike our great blue spider, only it is somewhat longer. I suppose the nature of his poysen to be much like that of the *taran-tula*.

I being thus beyond my hopes and expectation restored to myself, we unanimously agreed to return back, seeing no possibility of passing through the Mountains, and finding our Indians with our horses in the place where we left them, we rode homeward without making any further discovery.

Conjectures of the Land Beyond the Apalataen Mountains.

They are certainly in a great error, who imagine that the Continent of North *America* is but eight or ten days journey over from the *Atlantick* to the *Indian* Ocean, which all reasonable men must acknowledge, if they consider that Sir *Francis Drake* kept a West Northwest course from Cape *Mendocino* to *California*. Nevertheless, by what I gathered from the stranger Indians at *Akenatz*y of their Voyage by Sea to the very mountains from a far distant Northwest Country, I am brought over to their opinion who think that the Indian Ocean does stretch an Arm or Bay from *California* into the Continent as far as the *Apalataen* Mountains, answerable to the Gulfs of *Florida* and *Mexico* on this side. Yet I am far from believing with some that such great and Navigable Rivers are to be found on the other side the *Apalataens* falling into the Indian Ocean, as those which run from them to the Eastward. My first reason is derived from the knowledge and experience we already have of South *America*, whose *Andes* send the greatest Rivers in the world (as the *Amazones* and *Rio de la Plata*, &c.,) into the *Atlantick*, but none at all into the *Pacificque* Sea. Another argument

is that all our water-fowl which delight in Lakes and Rivers, as Swans, Geese, Ducks, &c., come over the Mountains from the Lake of *Canada*, when it is frozen over every winter, to our fresh Rivers which they would never do, could they finde any on the other side of the *Apalataens*.

Instructions to such as shall march upon Discoveries into the North *American* Continent.

TWO breaches there are in the *Apalataen* Mountains, opening a passage into the Western parts of the Continent. One, as I am informed by Indians, at a place called *Zynodoa*, to the Norward; the other at *Sara*, where I have been myself, but the way thither being thorow a vast Forest, where you seldom fall into any Road or Path, you must shape your course by a Compass; though some, for want of one, have taken their direction from the North side of the trees which is distinguished from the rest by quantities of thick moss growing there. You will not meet with many hindrances on horse-back in your passage to the Mountains, but where your course is interrupted by branches of the great Rivers, which in many places are not Fordable; and therefore if you be unprovided of means or strength to make a bridge by felling trees across, you may be forced to go a great

way about; in this respect company is necessary, but in others so inconvenient that I would not advise above half a dozen, or ten at the most, to travel together; and of these the major part Indians; for the Nations in your way are prone to jealousy and mischief towards Christians in a considerable Body, and as courteous and hearty to a few, from whom they apprehend no danger.

When you pass thorow an even, level country, where you can take no particular remarks from hill or waters to guide yourself by when you come back, you must not forget to notch the trees as you go along with your small hatchet, that in your return you may know when you fall into the same way which you went. By this means you will be certain of the place you are in, and may govern your course homeward accordingly,

In stead of Bread I used the meal of parched *Mayz*, i. e. Indian Wheat, which when I eat, I seasoned with a little Salt. This is both more portable and strengthening than Biscuit, and will suffer no mouldiness by any weather. For other provisions you may securely trust to your Gun, the Woods being full of Fallow, and *Savane* of Red Deer, besides great variety of excellent Fowl, as wild Turkeys, Pigeons, Partridges, Pheasants, &c. But you must not forget to dry or barbecue some of these before you come to the

Mountains, for upon them you will meet with no Game, except a few Bears.

Such as cannot lie on the ground, must be provided with light Hamacks, which hung in the trees, are more cool and pleasant then any bed whatfoever.

The Order and Discipline to be observed in this Expedition is, that an Indian scout or two march as far before the rest of the company as they can in fight, both for the finding out provision and discovery of Ambushes if any should be laid by Enemies. Let your other Indians keep on the right and left hand, armed not onely with Guns, but Bills and Hatchets, to build small Arbours or Cottages of boughs and bark of trees to shelter and defend you from the injuries of the weather. At nights it is necessary to make great Fires round about the place where you take up your lodging, as well to scare Wilde Beasts away as to purifie the air. Neither must you fail to go the Round at the close of the evening, for then and betimes in the morning, the Indians put all their designs in execution; in the night they never attempt anything.

When in the remote parts you draw near to an Indian Town you must by your scouts inform yourself whether they hold any correspondence with the *Sasquesahanaughs*; for to such you must give notice of your approach by a Gun;

which amongst other Indians is to be avoided, because being ignorant of their use, it would affright and dispose them to some treacherous practice against you.

Being arrived at a Town, enter no house until you are invited, and then seem not afraid to be led in pinion'd like a prisoner; for that is a Ceremony they use to friends and enemies without distinction.

You must accept of an invitation from the Seniors before that of young men, and refuse nothing that is offered or set afore you, for they are very jealous and fenible of the least flighting or neglect from strangers, and mindful of Revenge.

Touching Trade with Indians.

IF you barely designe a Home Trade with neighbour Indians, for skins of Deer, Beaver, Otter, Wild Cat, Fox, Raccoon, &c., your best truck is a sort of course Trading Cloth, of which a yard and a half makes a matchcoat or Mantle fit for their wear; as also Axes, Hoes, Knives, Sizars, and all sorts of edg'd tools, Guns, Powder and Shot, &c., are Commodities they will greedily barter for; but to supply the Indians with Arms and Ammunition is prohibited in all English Governments.

In dealing with the Indians you must be positive and at a word; for if they persuade you to fall anything in your price they will spend time in higgling for further abatements, and seldom conclude any Bargain. Sometimes you may with Brandy or Strong liquor dispose them to an humour of giving you ten times the value of your Commodities; and at other times they are so hide bound that they will not offer half the Market price, especially if they be aware that you have a designe to circumvent them with drink, or that they think you have a desire to

their goods, which you must seem to slight or disparage.

To the remoter Indians you must carry other kind of truck, as small looking glasses, Pictures, Beads and Bracelets of glass, Knives, Sizars, and all manner of gaudy toys and knacks for children, which are light and portable. For they are apt to admire such trinkets, and will purchase them at any rate, either with their currant Coyne of small shells, which they call *Roan-oack* or *Peack*, or perhaps with Pearl, Vermilion, pieces of Chrystal, and towards *Ushery*, with some odd pieces of Plate or Buillon, which they sometimes receive in Truck from the *Oestacks*.

Could I have foreseen when I set out the advantages to be made by a Trade with these remote Indians I had gone better provided; though perhaps I might have run a great hazard of my life had I purchased considerably amongst them, by carrying wealth unguarded through so many different Nations of barbarous people; therefore it is vain for any man to propose to himself or undertake a trade at that distance, unless he goes with strength to defend as well as an Adventure to purchase such commodities; for in such a designe many ought to joyn and go in company.

Some pieces of silver unwrought I purchased myself of the *Usheries*, for no other end then to justify this account I give of my Second Expe-

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dition, which had not determined at *Ushery*, were I accompanied with half a score resolute youths that would have stuck to me in a further discovery towards the Spanish Mines.

FINIS.

